Our Air Alliance with England *by Robert Stark*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

April 9, 1940

THIS IS NOT OUR WAR!

Let's Stop It Now

A Cable to NM by the Dean of Canterbury

Who's Afraid of Peace?

by A. B. Magil

John Reed on Wilson's War

From the 'Masses,' April 1917

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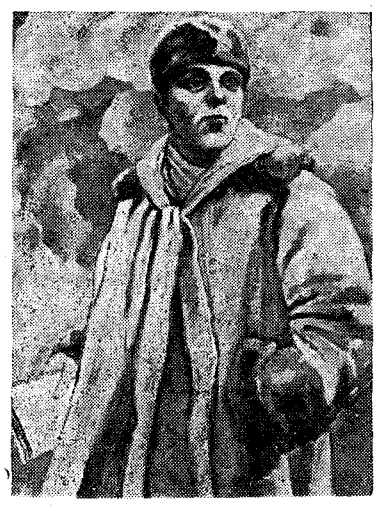
Between Ourselves

NEXT week NM will feature one of the first authentic articles published in this country since the war on the underground opposition in Germany. The writer, as you can well imagine, took many serious risks in obtaining the information. Despite the Gestapo, he visited workers in their homes, attended factory meetings, and collected copies of anti-Hitler leaflets. The entire staff has been at a high pitch of excitement ever since the story came into the office. Chamberlain, Hitler, and Reynaud will most certainly not like what this article has to say.

NM calls our readers' attention to *the significant cable from the dean* of Canterbury. We will continue to solicit expressions from all such outstanding individuals who oppose the European war. We may not, however, see eye to eye with them in all details and we have some points of disagreement with the dean. We refer our readers to the editorial on page 22.

Samuel Sillen is retiring from the editorial board of NM in order to complete a volume on literary tendencies in America since the last war. His vital editorial contribution to the magazine will not easily be replaced, and we wish to take this occasion to express the deep appreciation of the editors for his work. We are happy to announce, however, that his literary comments and reviews will continue to appear in the magazine.



John Reed

John Reed, whose article on World War I is reprinted in this issue from the "Masses" of April 1917, was born in Portland, Ore. A great American journalist, he was a prolific contributor to these pages until he died in Moscow in 1920. His portrait, painted by the late Robert Hallowell, hangs in the NM office.

Forthcoming issues of NM will carry two stories by Anna Louise Strong about her trip from the Pacific coast to New York. Keep a sharp lookout for them.

Editor Joseph North is leaving soon for a quick tour of college campuses. Fraternities and social problems clubs are invited to communicate with us for further information. The itinerary to date includes: Cleveland, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Madison, Chicago, Detroit, and possibly Boston.

Apparently the Chinese have their equivalent of Mr. His of Histown. We have just received clippings from Hongkong which show that *Redfield's Mr. His* (the drawings and text appeared in NM some months ago) has circulated through the length and breadth of China. Redfield say, "I am very proud."

The editors of NM are delighted to hear that Samuel Putnam, an old friend and contributor, is back in harness fully recovered from a serious illness.

For the womenfolk who have been greeting spring with new hats, K. O. of Toledo writes: "I had intended to get me a new hat since my old one—the only one I have—is falling to pieces. But NM leads the fight for WPA, civil liberties, and the whole cause of human freedom and the fight against war—so here's my $3. The hat can wait. NM creditors can't or won't." All of which is something to think about if you haven't filled your NM card with thirty dimes.

Just to show how simple it is, a friend in Brooklyn threw a party at his home for the benefit of NM. A sizable crowd showed up. By time-honored and guaranteed-painless devices the boys and girls were persuaded to part with their nickels, dimes, and quarters. When it was all added up and expenses deducted, there was $102 for NM. Does that suggest anything to you?

Philadelphia, dust off your statue of William Penn—NM is coming to town. On Sunday, April 14, the Quaker city will be host to the NM Bill of Rights Rally at Town Hall, 150 North Broad St. Speakers include Ruth McKenney, William Blake, Bruce Minton, Alvah Bessie. Norris Wood of the Philadelphia People's Forum will preside.

Get out your date book and make big X's for the following: On Friday night, April 5, at the New Yorker Theater, 54th Street west of Broadway, the NM Readers League will pull the curtain up on a special performance of Oscar Saul's and H. R. Hays' Living Newspaper drama *Medicine Show*. The run on tickets is brisk and you had better phone Jean Stanley (CAledonia 5-3076) for your reservations. Prices are 55c, 83c, $1.10, and $1.65. Tickets can also be had at the theater box office.

We guarantee a bright and hearty day at the ACA galleries, 50 West 8th St., NYC, Sunday afternoon and evening, April 7. The occasion is the "Bill of Rights" Art Auction for NM. Original manuscripts, drawings, and paintings of topnotch writers and artists will pass over the counter at prices you can afford. Auctioneers are Arthur Kober, Rockwell Kent, John Spivak, Elliot Paul, Tamiris, Lynd Ward, Gardner Rea, and others. Refreshments are free. Admission is 25c. All proceeds go to NM. Pass the word around.

Who's Who

JOSEPH STAROBIN is an editorial assistant on NM, specializing in foreign affairs. . . . Isidor Schneider is former literary editor of NM and author of *From the Kingdom of Necessity*. . . . The Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, England, is well known for his frank speaking on the needs of the English people and the advantages of the socialist system. His book *The Socialist Sixth of the World* is a description of life in the USSR. . . . Allen Hutt is author of *Post-War History of the British Working Class* and a regular contributor to the British *Labour Monthly*. . . . Robert Stark is a New York economist and writer. . . . Rev. Alson J. Smith is executive secretary of the Religious Union for Democracy. . . . Adam Lapin is NM and *Daily Worker* correspondent in Washington. . . . A. Landy was editor of the popular Questions and Answers department in NM last year. . . . Wallingford Riegger is a notable composer of modern music.

Flashbacks

CALENDAR of anniversaries April 4-10: April 4 (1930)—friends of British "democracy" please note—police in Bombay, India, fire on striking railroad men, injuring thirty. . . . April 5 (1915) leaders of the youth of many European countries meet at Bern, Switzerland, to organize resistance against the First Imperialist War. . . . April 6 (1917) Wilson, the liberal, does it for Wall Street. . . . April 7 (1936) for the first time in American history the organized unemployed attain national unity. This day, in Washington, D. C., the Unemployment Councils and the Unemployed Leagues merge into the Workers Alliance.

This Week

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification must to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXV APRIL 9, 1940 NUMBER 3

Who's Afraid of Peace?

A. B. Magil discusses the "dangers" of peace. Ending the war now would mean defeat for both warring imperialist groups. Peace is the best guarantee that America will stay out.

THE language of polite society has acquired a new unmentionable word—"peace." Formerly invited to the best homes, this word is now interned behind the barbed wire of social taboo. "Blessed are the warmakers" is the gospel of the moment. "Peace" is considered synonymous with "fascism," just as "war" has now become another way of saying "Western civilization." Mention the unmentionable word and you immediately brand yourself a Hitler agent. Or you may be favored with that rancid neologism of the Winchelligentsia: "Communazi." And it must be admitted that the word "peace" has a most deleterious effect on the stockmarket.

But there is one difficulty. Despite ostracism and contumely, despite the patriotic efforts of press, pulpit, and politicians, this abominable word "peace" refuses to be exorcised from the minds and hearts of the common people everywhere. What are we fighting for? This question bubbles to the murky surface of regimented life in England, France, Germany. What are they fighting for? millions in America ask. And there follows a fervent counterpoint: Let's stay out.

Is peace evil or criminal? The majority of the American people want it. "American opinion," wrote Ludwell Denny, political commentator for the pro-Allied Scripps-Howard press, "favors an early peace—because of anti-war sentiment in general, and because of widespread fear that the longer the war continues the graver the danger of our involvement" (New York *World-Telegram,* March 27). Last October, when this sentiment was not yet as strong as it is today, the Gallup poll asked: "Would you favor a conference of the leading nations of the world to try to end the present war and settle Europe's problems?" Sixty-nine percent of the voters favored such a conference, while fully 50 percent wanted the United States to take part if one is called. A more recent Gallup poll showed 77 percent of the voters against American participation in the war even if the Allies are in danger of defeat by Germany.

PEACE "CRISIS"

These are remarkable figures—more remarkable in view of the terrific propaganda in the other direction pouring from the government, the press, and the radio. Contrast this attitude of the majority with the cannibal morality of the saviors of Western civilization, as reported by Jay Franklin, a political writer who is in the confidence of the administration:

> The signature of a real peace [he wrote] would plunge the entire world, including the US, into an unemployment crisis far greater than that which began in 1929. As a matter of fact, the armament revival and the war were consequences of the 1929 crisis, since Europe put its unemployed first into black and brown shirts and then into uniforms. If the present war ends without liquidating the young Europeans, there will be no escape from the resulting economic crisis except by a process amounting to social revolution. [New York *Post,* March 19.]

These are shocking words only if one accepts the shibboleths of the warmakers and ignores the cynicism, brutality, and jungle morals that are the normal stigmata of capitalist life. But the process of disillusionment is developing faster than it did in the last imperialist war. That is why the ruling classes seek to prop up the flagging war spirit with a picture-postcard United States of Europe, painted in the most alluring colors from the socialist and liberal palette. We are asked to believe that the outcome of Chamberlain's war will be Harold Laski's peace!

Marxists are not pacifists. They do not support every kind of peace or oppose every kind of war. Our own American Revolution was a just and progressive war. The war of loyalist Spain and the war of the Chinese people against foreign invasion must be called just and progressive. It is significant that in those wars pressure for peace has come primarily not from the masses, but from the small number of the privileged and wealthy. In the present European war, however, as in 1914-18, it is the *people* in both belligerent and neutral countries who demand peace; it is the capitalists and their political representatives who insist that the war go on. This is a most significant phenomenon. "A mass sentiment for peace," wrote Lenin during World War I, "often expresses the beginning of a protest, an indignation and a consciousness of the reactionary nature of the war."

MUNICHMEN ON THE MARCH

But, we are told, this is not a reactionary war; this is a war against fascism. Those who formerly favored a peace front to halt fascist aggression are being reproached for opposing a war which professes to have that aim. But the fact is that this war resulted from the *rejection* of the peace front by the British and French governments. It is in truth the continuation of reactionary politics—the politics of both Versailles and Munich—by other means. In this war the Allies are Nazifying both their foreign and domestic policies: abroad they threaten to invade small neutrals and seek to organize an anti-Soviet crusade; at home they eviscerate democratic rights and make the people shoulder the economic burden of the war. ("If it is necessary to Nazify the economy in order to beat the Nazis, they [the Allies] will do so," wrote Chamberlain's ace American cheerleader, Dorothy Thompson, in the New York *Herald Tribune* of February 28.)

War against fascism? In an interview published in the December issue of *Current History* Alfred Duff Cooper, former first lord of the British admiralty, declared that if Goering replaced Hitler, he would be acceptable to Britain. Is Hermann less a fascist and anti-Semite than Adolf? The source of fascism in all countries is finance capital. But finance capital is in power in England and France, as

Attention FDR

After his trip to Versailles, Woodrow Wilson spoke more plainly than he had in 1917 about the cause of World War I—more plainly than Franklin D. Roosevelt speaks today about that war or the present one. To Art Young goes credit for having preserved one of the most revealing passages in Wilson's speech at Kansas City shortly after he returned from Versailles. The famous cartoonist made a cartoon for *Good Morning* about it, entitled "Letting the Cat Out of the Bag." The passage, which is reproduced in *Art Young: His Life and Times,* read as follows:

"IS THERE any man here, or any woman . . . is there any child here, who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? The real reason that the war we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. . . . This war, in its inception, was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war."

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well as in Germany. Only the socialist revolution can destroy the fascist dictatorship in Germany by overthrowing the rule of finance capital and placing the people in control of the entire economic plant of the country. Is Chamberlain, servant of the London City, more favorably disposed to the victory of socialism in Germany than Lloyd George was in 1918-19?

But, we are asked by other Allied apologists (for example, the American Minister to Canada, James H. R. Cromwell): Admitting that this is a war of imperialist greed on both sides, isn't it true that the way of life represented by England and France is preferable to the Nazi way? We ask in turn: If Britain and France, instead of seeking to destroy the fascist dictatorship in Germany, want to perpetuate it and subordinate it to their own imperialist (and anti-Soviet) aims, which way of life will triumph then? And if fascist Italy, now ardently courted by Britain and France, enters the war on their side, which way of life will the Allied coalition represent? We have already seen that the life-way of the "democrat" Chamberlain harmonizes perfectly with that of the fascist Mannerheim. Just the other day the British ambassador to Tokyo, Sir Robert Craigie, declared that his majesty's government and fascist, imperialist Japan were "ultimately striving for the same objective—namely, lasting peace and the preservation of our institutions from extraneous and subversive influences."

The instinct of the American people is right: This is not our war; our stake is in peace.

WHOSE VICTORY?

But, we are asked again, and often by sincere anti-fascists: Wouldn't peace at this time mean a Hitler victory? And a cognate question: Didn't the Soviet Union, by supporting Hitler's peace offer last October, support a Hitler victory?

First, let us be clear about a basic principle: In war as in peace the working class and its allies cannot determine their tactic by considering its effect on the interests of one or the other of two contending reactionary forces. The interests of the exploited majority, of the entire movement for liberation, alone must decide. When the Bolsheviks took power in Russia on Nov. 7, 1917, they immediately proposed peace negotiations to the peoples and governments of all the belligerent countries. At that time Germany had a decided advantage in the war, so she and her allies accepted the offer while the Entente powers ignored it. But only a person who believes the canard that Lenin was a German agent will say that the Soviet peace offer meant that the Bolsheviks favored a victory for German imperialism.

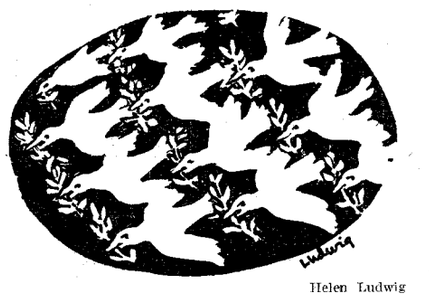
There are differences in the present situation, but the essentials remain. Perhaps the most important difference is that peace today would not mean a victory for German imperialism. On the contrary, it would mean a defeat for both imperialist groups.

What were Hitler's objectives in the war? It is absurd to say that Hitler merely wanted to take Danzig and the Polish Corridor or even the whole of Poland. After breaking through the straitjacket of Versailles, the Nazis resumed in more aggressive form the historic drive of German imperialism—eastward. The aim was not only to extend the German empire and the possibilities of superprofits, but to secure strategic positions that would enable Germany to challenge the dominant imperialist power of Europe, Britain. Since November 1917, however, the problem of imperialism has been expressed as a conflict not merely between various imperialist powers, but also between the entire imperialist system and socialism. And around socialism there tend to gather the anti-imperialist forces of the colonial countries shackled to imperialism. The accident of geography thus enabled German fascism to combine the drive for imperialist expansion with the drive for the destruction of the world center of socialism and anti-imperialism, the Soviet Union. Eastward expansion at the expense of the USSR and the border states is explicitly presented in *Mein Kampf* as the central objective of German foreign policy. ("If we speak of land in Europe today we can only think in the first instance of Russia and the border states under her influence.") Here the British government saw its opportunity to kill two birds with one stone: to destroy the land of socialism and at the same time exhaust Germany in a war with the USSR, removing this threat to British supremacy in Europe. It was for this reason that Britain and its satellite, France, encouraged and collaborated with Nazi aggression until it finally dawned on them that Hitler had no intention of being Chamberlain's fool.

DEFEAT FOR HITLER

As for Hitler, he would have preferred to continue his eastward advance via the appeasement route. In this sense he has always been in favor of "peace"—a la Munich. But even before the war started, his colossal gamble ended in defeat: He was compelled to renounce the crusade against the Soviet Union. And the war itself, despite the Polish victory, has brought him new defeat: the extension of Soviet territory westward to a new strategic line much stronger than the old one, a move which also creates a formidable obstacle to German penetration of the Balkans, and the ousting of all Nazi influence from the small, but strategically important Baltic states. That is why Walter Lippmann, soberly appraising the situation, wrote (even before the USSR acted in the Baltic):

> When we remember that as recently as last April Hitler was claiming Eastern Europe up to the old Russian frontier as the German "living space" and asserting the right of Germany to a free hand in this whole region, the present situation is indeed astonishing. . . .
>
> His war against Poland has been a military triumph. But he has bought that triumph by jeopardizing almost all his previous political triumphs. Whereas before the war he was dominant in Central and Eastern Europe, he now has Russia strategically dominant over such critically important regions as the Rumanian and Hungarian wheat fields and the Rumanian oil wells, and he has Russia at the back door of East Prussia and of his none too loyal Slavic vassals in Slovakia, Bohemia, and Moravia. [New York *Herald Tribune*, September 26, 1939.]



Helen Ludwig

The movement of the Red Army into the Western Ukraine and western Byelo Russia and the new relations created in the Baltic have been no less a defeat for Anglo-French imperialism. The Allies' strategic positions in the Balkans have been weakened, their economic and political influence in the Baltic states reduced to nil; their hopes of using those states to strike a military blow at the USSR have been shattered. The imperialist status quo has been altered in a revolutionary way; the forces of socialism have advanced, the forces of capitalism have had to retreat.

It should be borne in mind that, as NEW MASSES has frequently pointed out, the Soviet Union is not merely a national or, rather, multi-national state, but also an *international* state. It represents that one-sixth of the earth in which the international working class and its allies, the international movement for democracy, socialism, and lasting peace have already achieved power in the struggle against world capitalism. Therefore, any territorial extension of this socialist state, any increase of its economic and military might, necessarily redound to the advantage of the *peoples* of all countries and the disadvantage of the capitalists.

VICTORY FOR SOCIALISM

Peace at this time, far from being a Hitler peace, would be based predominantly on the advances of the country of socialism. Incidentally, it should be noted that the USSR did not endorse Hitler's specific proposals of last October, but only his general offer of negotiations for peace.

If peace at this time would end the war in a manner favorable to the interests of the Soviet state and socialism, why, then, does Hitler want peace? It is possible, of course, that the Fuehrer's offer is merely a maneuver. But assuming that it is genuine, there are a number of reasons why Hitler has no desire to continue this war. First, so long as he is engaged in the West, and so long as he is dependent on Soviet economic aid, there is no possibility of achieving the major objectives of German imperialism in the East. On the contrary, there is the distinct possibility that

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the USSR may make further advances. Second, Hitler, like the imperialist rulers of Britain and France, knows how deeply the masses desire peace and how uncertain the rear would become should war break out in full fury. By securing peace now and inflating the Polish victory, he may be able to strengthen his prestige among the people, placate those capitalist-fascist groups who, like Fritz Thyssen, oppose the pact with the USSR, and seek new means to accomplish the old predatory ends.

Hitler's peace offer has won support in certain reactionary capitalist circles outside Germany. In our own country Hearst and Lindbergh, strong fascist sympathizers, urge an end to the war, followed by an alliance of England, France, Germany, and Italy, "to stem the Red tide of Communism." They fear that continuation of the conflict will mean new victories for the Soviet Union and social revolution in the belligerent countries. The difference between the Hearst-Lindbergh group and those reactionaries who demand prosecution of the war is one of immediate tactics, not ultimate aims.

Won't peace make possible a united imperialist crusade against the USSR? This assumes that if there is no peace, the war will continue indefinitely in its present form. But the conflict between Anglo-French and German imperialism is real. The Allies are determined to reduce Germany either by a military defeat or an internal coup which will give control to a new fascist cabal that can be trusted to scuttle the Soviet pact and become the janissary of British imperialism. Moreover, the Allies are trying to browbeat neutral countries into permitting them to create a new battlefront from which to attack Germany *and* the USSR. On the other hand, should peace be negotiated, it would be extremely difficult to enlist popular support for a new war, particularly a war against the Soviet Union to be waged in alliance with fascist Germany and Italy.

WHAT OF THE JEWS?

But if peace comes now, what of the Jews who will continue to endure savage persecution by the Nazi dictatorship? What of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland? What of them, indeed? Does anyone really believe that the governments which joined hands with the Polish anti-Semites and are working to place in power a German government in the image of Thyssen and Goering are interested in wiping out anti-Semitism? Does anyone believe that the governments which handed over Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland (yes, Poland) to Hitler, who themselves hold in bondage hundreds of millions of people, are interested in real independence for Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland? In Ireland and India no one believes it. The Indian and Irish people have little enthusiasm for England's war because they know the bitter balm of England's peace.

We need a dynamic approach to the problem of peace. Liberation does not consist of switching masters. Every imperialist country, including our own, has its Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland. The problems of these subject peoples and of the Jewish people cannot be solved apart from a broader, more fundamental solution. Neither the victory of Anglo-French imperialism nor the victory of German imperialism will win anything but new agony for the common people, new degradation, new assaults on freedom and culture. For us in the United States the principal danger of fascism comes now not from Nazi Germany, but from the war-promoting policies of the Roosevelt administration. These have already brought serious government attacks on civil liberties and the trade unions. Democracy needs peace in order to live. But peace will not come readymade. It must be won through the action of the people, through struggle against the capitalist warmakers everywhere.

The imperialists of the warring countries [wrote Georgi Dimitrov last October] have begun the war for a new partition of the earth, for world domination, dooming millions of people to destruction. The working class is called upon to put an end to the war after its own fashion, in its own interests, in the interests of laboring mankind and thereby to destroy once and for all the fundamental causes giving rise to imperialist wars.

The Soviet Union has already begun the task of putting an end to the war in this way. It has limited the war; it has brought socialist democracy to thirteen million additional people, including hundreds of thousands of refugees from Nazi Poland; it has freed the four Baltic countries from vassalage to foreign imperialism while refraining from interference in their internal affairs. It is up to the working class of the capitalist countries, together with the exploited middle classes of city and countryside, to complete what the USSR has begun—to end the war in the people's way. That is the best guarantee that America will stay out.

"Do not be deceived," wrote John Reed during the last war, "by talk about democracy and liberty. This is not a crusade against militarism but a scramble for spoils. It is not our war." We may add, in the words of another great fighter against imperialist war, Karl Liebknecht: *Der Feind steht im eignen Lager*—the enemy is at home.

A. B. MAGIL.

You Can't Afford It

"THIS IS NOT OUR WAR" we say on the cover. Suppose this magazine did not appear next week to say that? What other national weekly would? *Collier's? Time? Saturday Evening Post?* Well, you know the answer to that.

But *your* magazine is in danger of not being able to say it. Our creditors can stop this message. Can you afford to let NEW MASSES pass out of the political picture, leaving no clear voice to talk for peace?

***Your* magazine is in danger. Our drive to date has reached a total of $8,597. We must have $16,403 more to reach the $25,000 we need to come through the year.**

The men who want the war are not stymied for funds. The peacemakers dare not be. And the answer is yours.

We have a big anti-war program. Look at the back page ad this week—a major political scoop. We have more in the bag. But the magazine must remain alive to let America know these things.

If every one of our readers sent in the $3 from his coin card we would be out of danger. If each of you ran a party for NEW MASSES we would be out of danger. You must not delay a moment; it might mean the closing of this magazine. And you can't afford that.

Can you?

The Editors.

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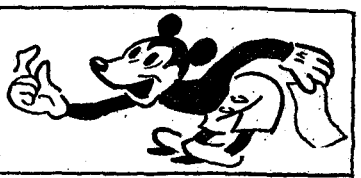
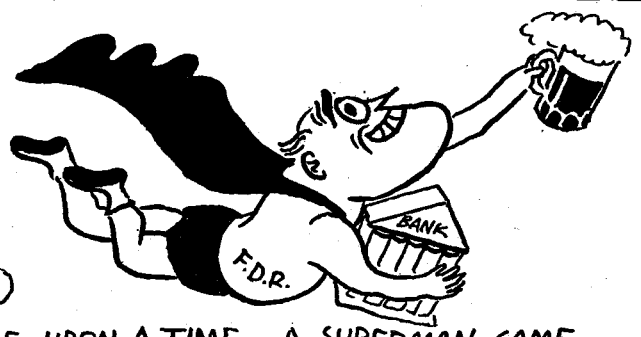
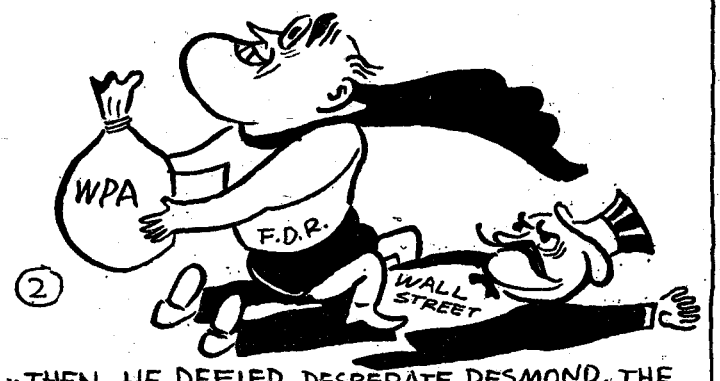
POLITICAL COMICS

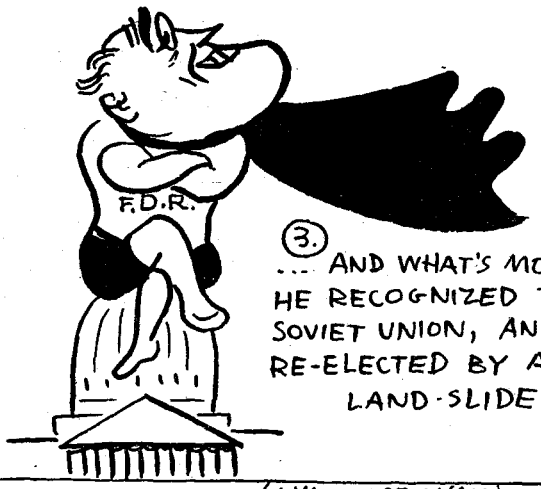




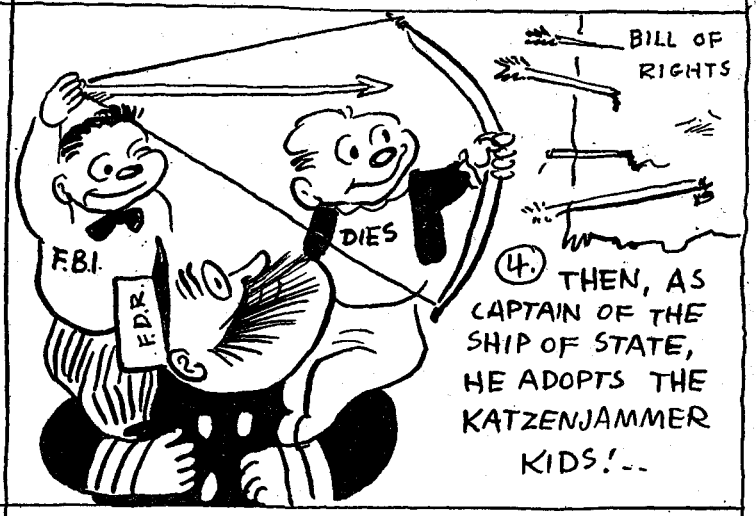
① ONCE UPON A TIME, A SUPERMAN CAME FLYING TO US— HE SAVED THE BANKS AND GAVE US OUR BEER . .



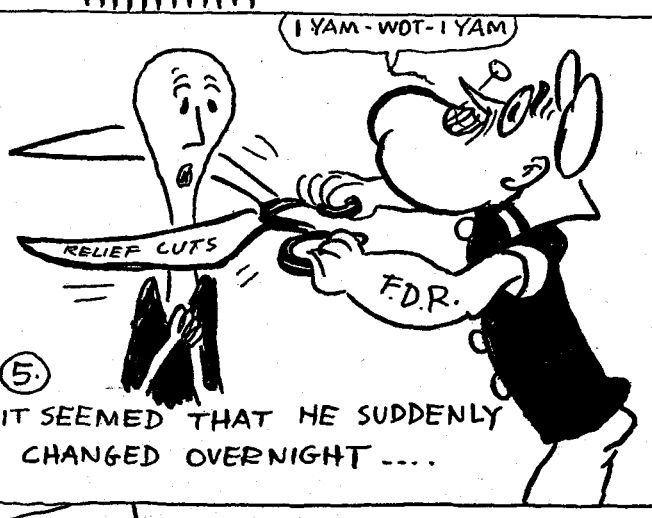
② --THEN, HE DEFIED DESPERATE DESMOND, THE VILLIAN, AND OFFERED RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED----



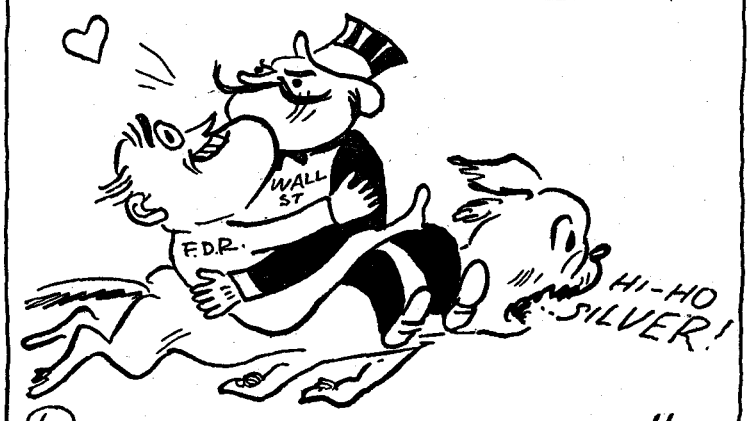
③ ... AND WHAT'S MORE,— HE RECOGNIZED THE SOVIET UNION, AND WAS RE-ELECTED BY A LAND-SLIDE!



④ THEN, AS CAPTAIN OF THE SHIP OF STATE, HE ADOPTS THE KATZENJAMMER KIDS!--



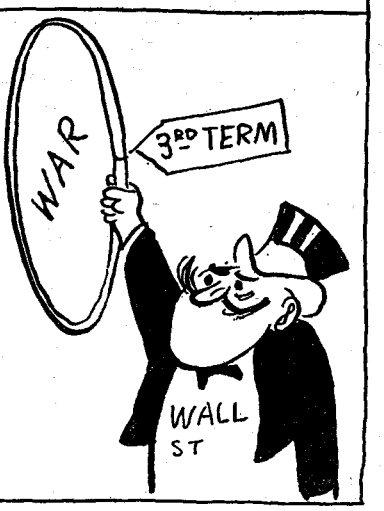
⑤ --IT SEEMED THAT HE SUDDENLY CHANGED OVERNIGHT ....



⑥ WE COULDN'T BELIEVE OUR EYES!!--

⑦ NOW. HE'S NO DIFFERENT THAN THE OTHER HAPPY HOOLIGAN

WILL HE MAKE IT?



William Gropper

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FDR's Road to War

Joseph Starobin outlines our foreign policy since September and its Big Business basis. America: munitions dump for the world.

KARL MARX says somewhere that nations, like women, can never claim they were taken by surprise. That old codger Clausewitz pointed out years ago that wars develop out of policies pursued long before the first bugle blows and the first drum beats. Long before M-Day, Americans who want to stay out of this war will have to form fundamental judgments of our government's foreign policy. And we shall have to decide whether it is "our" government.

The distinctive feature of this war in Europe is that both parties to it were exhausted by the last one. The chronic economic crisis has exhausted them further; their own policies of the past years and their present policies hasten this same process. While imperialism has a stranglehold upon itself across the Maginot Line, the peoples of the USSR go about their business with annoying neutrality and irritating self-confidence. They take no chances with their own security. They wisely refrain from playing with hot chestnuts. Patiently the Soviets await the day when their brother peoples on both sides of the Rhine will end forever the menace and madness of warfare.

SKATERS ON THIN ICE

The contrast between socialism and imperialism is central in world politics. The best figure skaters in Europe are skimming over very thin ice. They all know it, but they can't seem to help it. Each one hopes that he will remain standing upon the next fellow's debacle. But if the ice breaks, down will come Adolf and Neville and Paul. And it is this prospect that alarms the administration. Investments will be lost, markets will shrink (even more than the 17 percent shrinkage of 1917) and the worst of it is that the balance between world systems may change in favor of socialism. If the American capitalists have had headaches these past seven years keeping body and soul together, what Alka Seltzer will take away that hangover the morning after Europe's social revolution?

Therefore, the central features of American foreign policy since September may be summarized as follows: If peace could be patched up on the basis of a general assault on the land of socialism, the government would support it with arms, if not with men. Certainly the Soviets must be scared away from the skating rink at all costs. If the war must continue, it must be fought in such a way as to preserve the British empire. And the British empire must be preserved in such a way that American capitalists profit heavily in the process, keep their own powder dry, establish their own positions in the world market (even at the expense of the Allies), and come in only upon their own terms. Washington bolsters the Allies, and urges them to bolster Europe against Bolshevism. At the same time Washington conquers economic positions for itself, thereby making the entire imperialist world dependent on it. Wall Street wants to keep the whole heap up, and at the same time, to sit on top of the heap. Let us analyze this process and estimate its consequences.

No sooner did the war come than the President called Congress into special session. He wanted the embargo on arms and aircraft lifted. Since all goods were really war goods —why discriminate against any one kind? After toying with the idea of ninety day credits, he finally accepted "cash and carry" provisions. Ostensibly, this enables the Allies to overcome German air superiority, and thereby helps them keep war from our shores. There is absolutely no altruism here: Aircraft and munitions companies have developed a fabulous trade, more than $600,000,000 in orders since September with contracts amounting to $1,000,000,000 in the offing. The President defends this policy quite smugly. So do his generals and Cabinet secretaries and their assistants. Why worry about giving away latest-model airplanes since that will only teach us how to make later ones? Why fear a shortage in production for the army since tripled capacity will some day certainly come in handy.

CASH-AND-CARRY PROFITS

Moreover, the customers are paying cash. First, they are spending their own accumulated dollar balances, something over a billion and a half dollars. Second, they have mobilized the securities of their nationals in American corporations—about $2,000,000,000 worth. Systematic liquidation of these securities has proceeded during the autumn; the pace will be accelerated. Third, the Allies have gold which the Treasury accepts. This is really a form of credit to prospective purchasers, since the gold gets stored in vaults as though it were promissory notes. The Allies may be employing dollar balances here on account; by their "export-or-die" policy, they are certainly scouring the world market for dollar exchange. Perhaps, also, they are conserving gold in anticipation of its second devaluation. The *United States News* for February 2 suggests that Washington *prefers* the liquidation of securities. Why? Because this gives Americans control of stocks and industries previously shared with the British. In any case, fiscal relations clearly increase Anglo-French dependence on both Washington and Wall Street.

Take the problem of shipping. On the face of it, it seems like real neutrality that American ships are being kept out of the war zone. In a sense it is—and yet this spares the US enormous losses. Since September, 197 neutral ships have been sunk, compared with 211 for the Allies and 38 for the Nazis. Ship lanes to Bergen, Norway, are being kept open, permitting a very lucrative Scandinavian trade. Congress removed the ban on Mediterranean shipping which permits an equally lucrative trade with Italy and the Balkan neutrals (some of which is unquestionably going to Germany). Canada, the East and West Indies, Australia, and India are just as much in the war as Europe: German submarines under international law could cruise their waters. Yet while the United States relies on British warships to keep the seas clear of U-boats, American shipping cleans up on profitable commerce with British and French colonial possessions. US trade with oceanic Asia rose from $4,600,000 in January 1938 to $10,900,000 in January 1939—about half as much as commerce with both China and the Philippines. Monopoly enjoys the fruits of this war with the least of its risks. And if its shipping companies (subsidized by the US Maritime Commission) still insist upon snatching the highly profitable European war trade, they need only to barter the American flag for another. Dummy corporations in Belgium, Brazil, Norway, and Panama will send the dividends back to the USA.

American policy toward the Anglo-French colonial possessions is part of a larger American penetration into the British empire. The administration's tacit inclusion of Canada in its hemisphere policy is of long standing. Commerce with Canada in the last four months of 1939 increased by 44 percent; the State Department quietly permitted American participation in the $200,000,000 Canadian war loan. Years ago, the Saint Lawrence waterway was a *cause celebre* in American politics; but last November, the President quietly dispatched A. A. Berle, Jr., of the State Department for conferences that have already decided to convert the Saint Lawrence into an internal waterway, permitting ocean-going vessels passage from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic. Centrifugal tendencies are operative everywhere in the British empire. Quite unheralded, the United States last fall undertook diplomatic relations with the up-and-coming dominion of Australia. Ambassadors were exchanged, and American merchants turn their eyes fondly to the South Pacific trade.

LATIN AMERICAN EMPIRE

The essence of the American policy—to support the whole heap, and still sit on top of it—is nowhere better illustrated than in Latin

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America. Here the antagonism between the United States and Great Britain rages uncurbed. Before the gavel fell that opened the special session of Congress, Sumner Welles was on his way to a specially convened Pan-American conference. Mr. Welles rarely travels for his health alone. American business men saw in the outbreak of war an opportunity to clean up on Germany's trade before the British got there. In 1938 Germany took 11.2 percent of South American exports and supplied 17.3 percent of its imports. England was being edged out of the running and the Nazis were hard on the heels of the Americans. Employing the British blockade to keep the Germans out, the administration moved in behind the backs of the British. That six hundred mile chastity belt was invoked under Washington's pressure, and, significantly enough, the British have refused to recognize it.

Although commerce with South America increased by the handsome figure of 42 percent in the last four months of last year, there are considerable flies in the ointment and Mr. Hull is worried. Latin America cannot be expected to buy our goods unless they can sell their own. Their goods are largely agricultural (since monopoly's export needs repress their industrialization); and we're having a tough time selling American farm produce. The only way out, if American capitalism is to hold customers, involves long term credits. During the twenties American investors burned their fingers badly. Sons of Peruvian presidents got fancy rake-offs, and the National City Bank substantial commissions. But when the great glacier descended in 1930, even these tropical countries froze up their interest and principal payments to the tune of $1,072,200,000. Bankers won't lend until they get some payment on back debts, and here is where the administration steps in. If Mr. Roosevelt had had his way last summer, the Export-Import Bank would have commanded half a billion for South American loans. Even with $100,000,000 the good neighbors are submitting to gentle pressure; Brazil, Nicaragua, and others have promised to begin at least token payments while Washington has promised credits. Wall Street is pleased by the sentiment, and the National Foreign Trade Council deliriously happy. On April 14 an Inter-American Bank will be inaugurated, with appropriate ceremonies. Nine countries provide the initial capital, with Washington offering the lion's share. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need," say South American business men, their sleeves echoing with laughter.

IMPERIALIST RIVALRY

But it is this sort of thing that enrages John Bull. The British themselves desperately needed those German markets; the London *Economist* last November elaborated the prospect in anxious detail. British economy suffers the same hunger as American, only more deeply, because it is weaker. Although fighting Germany, the Allies have adopted the same practices which hard necessity taught the Nazis. On March 5 the White Paper of the British Export Council explained that in the fight for exports "in particular trades, or over the whole field, the council places no limits on the expedients they would be prepared to consider," involving "barter arrangements and trade negotiations and insurance facilities (such as guaranteed export credits) for foreign trade."

Under British pressure, Mr. Hull's Argentine and Uruguay trade pact negotiations were wrecked last December. To achieve an advantage over the American exporter the British have devised two currencies, one at home, pegged at $4.02 to the pound sterling, and the other "free" sterling, which was permitted to fall last week to $3.44. Seven years ago, such tactics compelled the United States to follow suit with the devaluation of the dollar. Now the war impels the Allies to take vigorous, even frantic measures against a rival upon whom it relies in the war against Germany. American imperialists, anxious to facilitate an Allied victory, are impelled to advance their own positions at the expense of their "ideological brothers."

Geographical considerations preclude any American commitments to the European neutrals. The United States is not a European power and can do nothing that French and British diplomacy cannot do. And yet, in the present war, Washington plays an unusual diplomacy with the neutrals. The appointment of Myron C. Taylor as the executive's personal envoy to the Vatican is a remarkable departure, since no American has sat in the church of Saint Peter since 1867. Yet what compelled Mr. Roosevelt, the Episcopalian who stood bareheaded at the prayer "that King George may vanquish and overcome all of his enemies," to appoint Mr. Taylor, also a Protestant, to such a post at this particular time? The answer will be found in the larger purposes of the Roosevelt policy. First, if the war could be "switched" against the Soviets, the pope's influence might be worth substantial concessions in Catholic Poland. On the other hand, the Nazis are apparently offering the pope exactly such concessions now; the presence of Mr. Taylor may restrain the Vatican from independent dealings with Germany that might harm the Allied cause. And on the basis of a message to the Vatican last December, the President was able to rally the leaders of all faiths—a valuable political asset in any eventuality.

Commerce with Europe has increased generally since September; the most phenomenal increase has been that in munitions. The United States has become a virtual munitions dump for the rest of the world: In 1936 it exported only $24,000,000 worth of death-dealing instruments; by 1939 it was exporting $204,000,000 worth, fully ten times as much. And, after England and France, such shipments have been going to *strategic* neutrals, among the largest: Sweden, Finland, and Turkey, rather interesting destinations!

Toward Scandinavia American policy has had its greatest development. Finland was of course the fulcrum of American anti-Soviet agitation, and its story has already been fully documented in NEW MASSES. Yet the $56,000,000 Export-Import Bank loans to Sweden, Norway, Iceland, as well as Finland, have a definite and deeper meaning. First of all trade, of course; and trade with these countries has jumped 67 percent since September, the most striking single figure in the record. Second, these countries occupy strategic positions in terms of the general American objectives. If the Scandinavian nations could have been stiffened toward the Red Army's operations in Finland that might have reversed the whole course of history. FDR's expression of chagrin upon the Soviet-Finnish peace (it "does not yet clarify the inherent right of small nations to the maintenance of their integrity") indicates only too clearly that American policy has not even now given up hope of staving off socialism via the North. Which brings us squarely to the problem of our Soviet relations.

SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Few visitors to the magnificent Soviet pavilion at the World's Fair could have suspected that Washington's relations with the USSR would take the turn they have since September. Soviet-American trade flourishes, and might increase, if Washington were willing, as Molotov recently remarked. The USSR pays on time and it pays in cash. Its ruble nowhere competes with the dollar; its interests nowhere conflict with ours, unless we insist upon it. Seward purchased Alaska at a ridiculous price in 1867, and many Russian kinsmen still occupy that territory. Yet the Soviet Union has never taken advantage of its proximity across the shallow Bering Sea to hamper American interests. No Bolshevik cruisers straddle the Philippine trade routes. No Soviet "fishermen" chart the inlets of the Pacific shores. No Red Army patrols interfere with our mails, or haul our freighters into foreign harbors. No Bolshevik "barbers" settle suspiciously near the Panama Canal. Were America willing, its power in alliance with the USSR could easily bring this war to a close, and ensure peace in any part of the world. Such reflections only show that the USSR isn't an imperialist nation—it certainly doesn't behave like some of our very best friends! Yet, the United States has gone out of its way to antagonize and alarm the Soviet people. The men who rule America not only speculate upon preventing the peoples of Europe from asserting their own destinies, but they cherish the futile dream of denying to the Soviet peoples control over theirs. Socialism is quite prepared to live side by side with imperialism, but imperialism apparently sees no way of preserving itself without fighting socialism. This was the meaning of the campaign against the USSR over Finland; the whole course and direction of American policy gives evidence that this campaign will continue and flare up again and again.

This reactionary policy in Europe has its

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corollary in Far Eastern diplomacy. The outstanding fact of Pacific affairs since September has been Japan's ever more difficult dilemma. With the exception of very uncertain advances around Nanning in Southern Kwangsi, Japanese armies have made no progress in China. On the 15th of last September Tokyo was compelled to sue for peace on the Soviet-Mongolian border. Two Cabinets have fallen since August; protest mounts within Japan against the suicidal policies of her rulers. On the face of it, then, Ambassador Grew's sharp speech on October 19, and the abrogation of the 1911 trade treaty, as well as the $20,000,000 loan to China would seem to reveal a progressive aspect of American policy. Yet here also, instead of a forthright program, withdrawing economic support from Japan and thereby penalizing aggression and eliminating the need for huge naval equipment in the Pacific, Washington pursues a policy of calculated caution. Such theoreticians of American imperialism as Walter Lippmann, ready to fight both Germany and the USSR in Europe, insist that unless the US is cautious with Japan it must be prepared for warfare. This sophism conceals a deeper strategy: Fearful of the influence of the USSR, anxious in the face of a united, victorious China, the United States desires not the *defeat* of Japanese militarism, but rather the *control* of its policies. While American business men profit from Japan's aggression, Washington employs the threat of an embargo rather than the embargo itself, in an effort to dominate both Chinese and Japanese destinies for the advancement of its own imperialist interest. This is an extension of the technique of appeasement which Britain used for five years and which resulted in her present fiasco.

For all the Anglo-American cooperation in Europe, Britain engages the United States in an inter-imperialist rivalry in the Far East. Upon the inauguration of the Wang Ching-wei marionette in Nanking last week, the

Mischa Richter

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British ambassador, Robert Craigie, volunteered the assurance that both London and Tokyo were after all working toward the same objectives. This seems to have alarmed, if not enraged Washington; one day later Mr. Hull made public a categorical statement reiterating American opposition to Japanese aggression. Even such a measure, however, hardly alters the fundamental techniques of American policy, nor does it affirm beyond suspicion any pro-democratic objectives.

Having sketched the process of American policy we may now estimate its consequences. At home the Roosevelt gamble with the war boom of last autumn is producing the predicted misfortune. The steel, machine tool, mining, munitions, and aircraft industries, and to a lesser extent textiles, were the chief beneficiaries of the accelerated economic activity last autumn. The more general business revival developed largely because smaller business units feared rocketing prices and commodity shortages. Reemployment was not substantial; laborsaving devices have permanently barred eight or nine million citizens from productive activity. Although the Federal Reserve Board Index soared to 128 from a level of 103 in August, exceeding 1929 levels, the drop in January and February was more precipitate than any in our history. The Allies are grinding down the living standards of their peoples; they are conserving exchange by purchasing agricultural supplies in their own empires or from strategic neutrals such as Turkey. Except for cotton, whose sales are already running out, no important American agricultural commodities participated in the brief industrial boom.

Which means what? First, that the agricultural crisis will further unbalance the budget. Subsidies for the export of cotton and wheat are already employed. The Nazification of our trade policies will be accelerated and the principles of the Hull trade program will go by the board as country after country discriminates more against our farm exports. Although upper brackets will continue to profit, as will specialized industries, the entire economy, already unbalanced, will inevitably rely on government armament orders. By now a characteristic Roosevelt contribution to American economic history is the rising arms budget; $540,356,000 in 1933-34, it reaches the fabulous figure of $2,116,169,000 in 1940-41. And WPA, as well as PWA, is slowly transformed into projects for national defense purposes. If the war ceased, the effect in the United States would be catastrophic; as it continues, the tendencies I have analyzed become intensified.

Franklin Roosevelt himself warned against this process in his Chautauqua speech, August 14, 1936:

> . . . if war should break out again in another continent, let us not blink the fact that we would find in this country thousands of Americans who, seeking immediate riches—fool's gold—would attempt to break down or evade our neutrality.
>
> They would tell you—and, unfortunately, their views would get wide publicity—that if they could produce and ship this and that and the other article to belligerent nations, the unemployed of America would all find work. They would tell you that if they could extend credit to warring nations, that credit would be used in the United States to build homes and factories and pay our debt. They would tell you that America once more would capture the trade of the world.
>
> It would be hard to resist that clamor; it would be hard for many Americans, I fear, to look beyond —to realize the inevitable penalties, the inevitable day of reckoning, that come from a false prosperity. To resist the clamor of that greed, if war should come, would require the unswerving support of all Americans who love peace.
>
> If we face the choice of profits or peace, the nation will answer—must answer—"We choose peace." It is the duty of all of us to encourage such a body of public opinion in this country that the answer will be clear and for all practical purposes unanimous.

And yet has the response to such words of wisdom been unanimous? Among the working class, the farmers, the broad masses of people, unquestionably. They definitely "choose peace." But many middle class people, especially their intellectual spokesmen, have drunk deeply of the Roosevelt "Mickey Finn"; they imagine Roosevelt tilting the lance for righteousness against evil, for civilization against barbarism, but actually, no doubt unwillingly, they become the victims of processes more volcanic than they can themselves withstand. Among the upper classes there is a great rallying around the President. Mr. Thomas Lamont has given the trade agreements program his blessings in a recent issue of *Collier's;* Mr. Carter Glass, the unreconstructed rebel, led the artillery for the Finnish loan. Mr. Herbert Hoover has responded "magnificently" to the "national unity" telepathy which surges from the White House. Republican criticism of the President limits itself to methods, rather than objectives. Mr. Roosevelt's claim to leadership of the general and longest range interests of American imperialism arises out of a haunting conviction that the imperialist world order has been driven to a dangerous impasse. The personal testimony of Sumner Welles has confirmed his every apprehension; Roosevelt is often impatient of his critics because they do not seem to realize how fragile are the balances in war-ridden Europe, how close to disaster the capitalist ship of state is being forced, unless firm and experienced hands grip the rudder.

The helmsmen of American capitalism see reefs and rocks ahead. And they are worried. As though fearful of popular insistence upon issues of the present, they soothe the masses with visions of the future. But what of the future of American foreign policy? If it is left in the hands of the men now running it, we shall face a series of economic and financial commitments to the Anglo-French imperialist powers. Unless these powers can be encouraged to direct their major energies against socialism, they shall be compelled to give battle against their erstwhile companions, the Nazis. And in so doing, they shall be forced into greater and greater reliance upon the United States, which will be generously welcomed. Then the Allies will turn round, as they are already doing, to say: "You helped us out on this limb, now come out on the limb yourself, and help us off."

The alternating "sturdy oak and clinging vine" policy which finally involved both the French and British peoples in mutual disaster has already begun. In the House of Commons Neville Chamberlain recently berated those forces "far away from the seat of the war" who give advice and not much more. Oliver Stanley, British war minister, rebuked those impatient voices who call this a "phony" war as though "from the ringside" they were enjoying the other man's battles. And Mr. Doris Duke has already responded with words of assurance, urging the Allies on with the pledge that America follows after. The more Britain and France are assisted the greater their reliance upon us, the more ominous the chorus of voices urging the American people to help them out of the hole into which they were encouraged.

If they should win against Hitler, the Allies promise only the suppression of those popular forces which alone guarantee that the fatal history of the past twenty years shall not repeat itself. Flushed with victory, they would try to destroy the fount of a new civilization, and call upon American soldiers to act as imperialism's gendarmes. And if they appear to be losing, "our" government will even more desperately attempt to deflect the Allies against socialism and will call upon the young men and women of America to infuse new blood into a system that has long since outlived its useful existence. That is why the American people had better decide rather quickly that it is not "our" government that speaks in the name of the US. These are not "our" policies. They must be resisted.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

Wintering Station

(North Pole)

This ardor that has warmed the pole
lives on the lifeless sea and burns
in conquered darkness human lights—

Four there herding the last untamed
ice armored currents, ice horned winds;
four there like a nation fill the map
where like a wall each parallel
fenced the unknown.

Long has the socialist people been
thaw in the rigid earth,
where surplus like a useless snow
once packed profit harder down
spreading the ice-cap.

Twenty years ago was fired
the social lifeheat that has warmed
also the Arctics of the mind,
the polar ego desolate.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

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Whose War?

John Reed asked that question in the April 1917 issue of the old "Masses." We reprint his remarkable article to throw light on today's war.

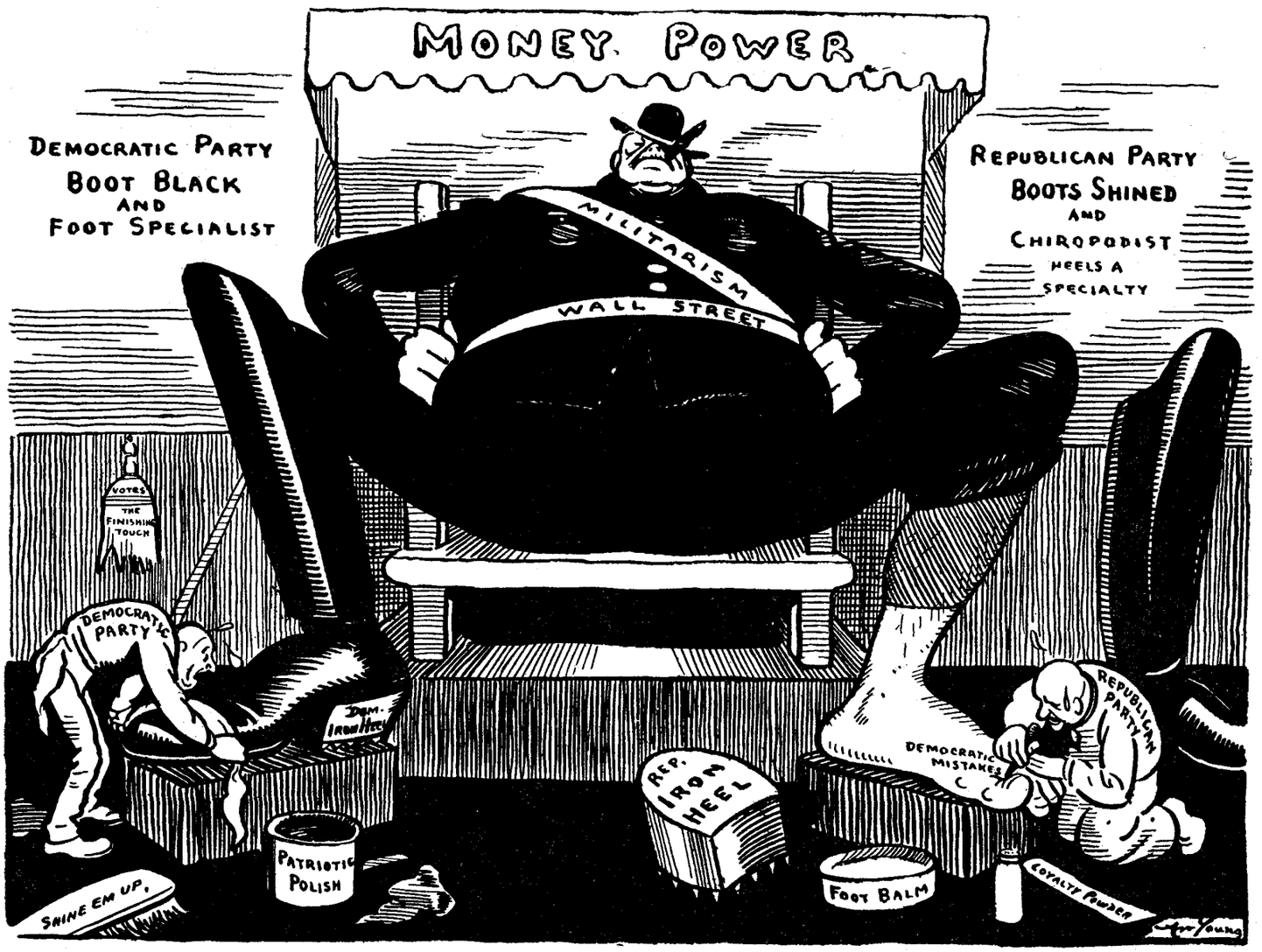
JOHN REED'S "Whose War?" appeared in the April 1917 issue of the *Masses*. By the time this issue went out, America was in the World War. On April 2, Reed attended a large meeting of the People's Council, a peace organization. The audience clamored for Jack Reed, but David Starr Jordan, the chairman, decided that there was no time to hear Reed. Then came the momentous announcement that President Wilson had that evening called for war in his address to the joint session of Congress. Jordan arose to say that the People's Council would follow the President, even though it had been for peace. The cries for Jack Reed were repeated by the audience. He stepped forward and declared: "This is not my war, and I will not support it. This is not my war, and I will have nothing to do with it." Reed did not swerve from this forthright anti-war position. The *Masses*, for which he continued to write, remained an anti-war organ.

Twenty-three years later, Reed's statement has lost nothing of its force, its clarity, its sense of immediacy. We are proud to reprint the substance of it. The message of John Reed will be heard above the war drums in Washington. The people will not boil *twice* in the same caldron.—THE EDITORS.

"The current ebullition of patriotism is wonderful."
—Rev. Dr. Parkhurst.

BY THE time this goes to press the United States may be at war. The day the German note arrived, Wall Street flung the American flag to the breeze, the brokers on the floor of the Stock Exchange sang "The Star-spangled Banner" with tears rolling down their cheeks, and the stock market went up. In the theaters they are singing "patriotic" ballads of the George M. Cohan–Irving Berlin variety, playing the national anthem, and flashing the flag and the portrait of long-suffering Lincoln—while the tired suburbanite who has just been scalped by a ticket speculator goes into hysterics. Exclusive ladies whose husbands own banks are rolling bandages for the wounded, just like they do in Europe; a million-dollar fund for Ice in Field-hospitals has been started; and the Boston Budget for Conveying Virgins Inland has grown enormously. The directors of the British, French, and Belgian Permanent Blind Relief Fund have added "American" to the name of the organization, in gruesome anticipation. Our soldier boys guarding the aqueducts and bridges are shooting each other by mistake for Teutonic spies. There is talk of "conscription," "war-brides," and "On to Berlin." . . .

I know what war means. I have been with the armies of all the belligerents except one, and I have seen men die, and go mad, and lie in hospitals suffering hell; but there is a



"RIVALS FOR THE MONARCH'S FAVOR." *An old drawing by Art Young which like most of the great cartoonist's things is very pertinent now, especially in this election year.*

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worse thing than that. War means an ugly mob-madness, crucifying the truth-tellers, choking the artists, sidetracking reforms, revolutions, and the working of social forces. Already in America those citizens who oppose the entrance of their country into the European melee are called "traitors," and those who protest against the curtailing of our meager rights of free speech are spoken of as "dangerous lunatics." . . . The press is howling for war. . . . Lawyers, politicians, stockbrokers, social leaders are all howling for war. Roosevelt is again recruiting his thrice-thwarted family regiment. . . .

Whose war is this? Not mine. I know that hundreds of thousands of American workingmen employed by our great financial "patriots" are not paid a living wage. I have seen poor men sent to jail for long terms without trial, and even without any charge. Peaceful strikers, and their wives and children, have been shot to death, burned to death, by private detectives and militiamen. The rich have steadily become richer, and the cost of living higher, and the workers proportionally poorer. These toilers don't want war—not even civil war. But the speculators, the employers, the plutocracy—they want it, just as they did in Germany and in England; and with lies and sophistries they will whip up our blood until we are savage—and then we'll fight and die for them. . . .

We are simple folk. Prussian militarism seemed to us insufferable; we thought the invasion of Belgium a crime; German atrocities horrified us, and also the idea of German submarines exploding ships full of peaceful people without warning. But then we began to hear about England and France jailing, fining, exiling, and even shooting men who refused to go out and kill; the Allied armies invaded and seized a part of neutral Greece, and a French admiral forced upon her an ultimatum as shameful as Austria's to Serbia; Russian atrocities were shown to be more dreadful than German; and hidden mines sown by England in the open sea exploded ships full of peaceful people without warning.

Other things disturbed us. For instance, why was it a violation of international law for the Germans to establish a "war zone" around the British Isles, and perfectly legal for England to close the North Sea? Why is it we submitted to the British order forbidding the shipment of non-contraband to Germany and insisted upon our right to ship contraband to the Allies? If our "national honor" was smirched by Germany's refusal to allow war materials to be shipped to the Allies, what happened to our national honor when England refused to let us ship non-contraband food and even *Red Cross hospital supplies* to Germany? Why is England allowed to attempt the avowed starvation of German civilians, in violation of international law, when the Germans cannot attempt the same thing without our horrified protest? How is it that the British can arbitrarily regulate our commerce with neutral nations, while we raise a howl whenever the Germans "threaten to restrict our merchant ships going about their business"? . . .

We have shipped and are shipping vast quantities of war materials to the Allies, we have floated the Allied loans. We have been strictly neutral toward the Teutonic powers only. Hence the inevitable desperation of the last German note. Hence this war we are on the brink of.

Those of us who voted for Woodrow Wilson did so because we felt his mind and his eyes were open, because he had kept us out of the mad-dog fight of Europe, and because the plutocracy opposed him. We had learned enough about the war to lose some of our illusions, and we wanted to be neutral. We grant that the President, considering the position he'd got himself into, couldn't do anything else but answer the German note as he did—but if we had been neutral, that note wouldn't have been sent. The President didn't ask us; he won't ask us if we want war or not. The fault is not ours. It is not our war.

JOHN REED.

Let's Stop It Now

London (by cable).

AS A Christian minister I desire peace. As a humanitarian I shrink from slaughter which may cost millions of lives and gravely endanger Western civilization which despite its defects has inestimable qualities.

The results of the last great war yield no encouragement to a belief that a similar bloodbath will bring better results. (Nor do I anticipate an easy or speedy overthrow of Hitler and the Nazi regime by war.)

The only alternative is a negotiated peace. I desire therefore a real peace conference attended not only by belligerents but by all great neutral powers and in particular by the United States and the Soviet Union.

This conference should redraw the frontiers of Europe more justly than Versailles. It should also lay down principles of religious, racial, and social freedom and provide guarantees for their enforcement.

Such a conference seems better calculated to achieve a just peace than one at the end of an exhausting and prolonged war with all the hatred and bitterness it must result in and where vengeance would supplant justice as the dominating motive.

A peace conference may not be immediately possible. It may not be possible at all if any of the combatants start a serious offensive by land or air of which at the moment there seems small likelihood though unfortunately any madness or stupidity is possible.

The highly fortified lines where the antagonists face one another in the West discourage an attack which must inevitably cost the assailant so dearly in men and munitions as to court almost certain disaster. Germany has scant encouragement and indeed no sufficient need to do so. For the Allies it would be a gambler's throw.

A small but powerful group in England are still anxious, consistent with their usual attitude, to start a holy war against Bolshevism by launching the large army of white, black, brown, and yellow races accumulated in the Near East against the Armenian and Azerbaijan Socialist Soviet Republic. The present situation, however, has lessened the danger of an eastern extension of the war which, as matters stand today, would almost certainly mean the end of the British empire.

Wiser counsels are likely to prevail. The alternatives then are to continue as at present with social discontent and financial bankruptcy staring us in the face, or to get around the table, leaving a disillusioned German people to settle their own accounts with Hitler.

Since President Roosevelt is not altogether disinterested in a third presidential term—and what could better ensure it than being the world's peacemaker—I anticipate diplomatic and economic pressure on recalcitrant military powers ensuring a conference some time in the summer. But that conference, if it is to succeed, must without any doubt include the United States and the Soviet Union. Should this bring peace in the West, might it also not bring peace to the East, to poor China? I can well imagine that Japan would welcome a peace that would save its face.

So my reason argues. I am well aware, however, that we live in an irrational and dangerous world where blind folly akin to madness might at any moment precipitate disaster.

THE REV. HEWLETT JOHNSON, DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

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Cannon, Not Butter, Says Chamberlain

Allen Hutt writes from London to say, "Our vested interests are doing better than ever . . ." The drive against wages. And the labor leaders help.

London, England (by mail).

THIS WAR is now in its seventh month and the political and economic state of Britain has been developing pretty rapidly along the lines indicated in my last account (NEW MASSES, Dec. 26, 1939) which went up to the middle of December. What will happen this spring, long rumored as the time when "something" is due to break? And where—on the Western Front, in the North, in the Near East? Or on the front that we have always with us, the home front? This last I will analyze here; and we shall find that the analysis will also give us one or two significant angles on the other fronts.

There is a sort of polarization now proceeding, both in our economy and politics in general, and specifically in our labor movement. Divisions are becoming wider and deeper; opposing tendencies are more sharply defined. Our vested interests are doing better than ever out of their "bastard socialism." The state control of industry and trade emerges now in its clearest light. For our industrial controllers are fifty-four big business men, holding between them 297 company directorships, covering banks, finance houses, insurance concerns, and no fewer than thirty-six directorships of leading iron, steel, chemical, and engineering enterprises. As for our raw material controllers, of whom we have eighteen, fourteen hold forty directorships in big firms dealing in raw materials. And our eighteen foodstuff controllers hold between them eighty-four directorships in large food concerns. Another sign that state capitalism, Chamberlain model, is thundering good business for the capitalist has come with the government guarantee of railway profits. Railway stock, waterlogged up to the eyes, is not what it was in the grand Victorian days; so this government coolly guarantees the stockholders a yearly profit of not less than $200,000,000, a 17 percent increase on the 1939 figure. No wonder there has been a speculative rush—not without advance information, it is said—on the Stock Exchange, inflating the value of railway stocks by a trifling $500,000,000.

THE NAZI EXAMPLE

Numerous prominent citizens, in short, are doing mighty comfortably out of the war to date. But unhappily this does not solve the problems of war economy, which are growing steadily more pressing, and are leading to some pretty blunt talk in high places. City leaders and Cabinet ministers provide us these days with many variations on what I can only describe as the classical Nazi "guns, not butter" theme. I have space for only a few characteristic examples. Banker R. H. Brand, one of our biggest financial shots (he was also deputy chairman of the British mission to Washington in 1917-18) has proposed that there should be "control of wages"—and their direct taxation—with much wider rationing plus "some rise in prices," in order to keep consumption down; "the trade unions [he asserts] should refrain from demanding increases of wages." Sir Samuel Hoare, lord privy seal, has just declared that "we must regulate, restrict, and confine our right to buy," that "we must reconcile ourselves to increases of taxation," and that we must practice "economy in the use of food" with a nation half of whose numbers are, according to our leading nutritional experts, below the optimum nutritional level!

Finally the *Financial News,* one of our two principal City journals, says openly that Britain has to face exactly the same problem as the Nazis in slashing the country's living standards and therefore we "ought to examine their expedients very carefully." A compulsory reduction in civil consumption "by at least one-quarter" is envisaged. Does that mean that Nazi economy will have to be enforced by Nazi political methods? Are the industrial workers to be regimented by the suppression of the trade unions? Hardly. The aim undoubtedly is to use the union machine to do the job, which means keeping the present pro-war leadership at the helm. Drawing a lesson from the last war the London *Times* editorialized: "The effectiveness of trade union leadership must be preserved lest dissatisfied members follow upstart leaders who ride on the crest of grievances." A measure now before Parliament will assist in this work. Innocuously entitled the Societies (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, this measure, if passed, will enable trade union leaders to dispense "for the duration" with delegate or other statutory meetings and to waive their rules for this purpose. Evidently this will render any "purge" of Communists or other such objectionable militants an easy business.

Nor, in this connection, are there wanting signs of a drive to suppress the Communist Party and its newspaper the *Daily Worker.* It is hardly accidental that our most reactionary newspapers are concertedly barking up this particular tree, from Lord Kemsley's *Daily Sketch* to Lord Rothermere's *Sunday Dispatch* and *Daily Mail.* You may judge the ludicrous viciousness of this campaign from the sad case of the *Sketch* which, seeing that the *Daily Worker* listed a modest contribution from "the Marx Brothers" (a pseudonym taken by two of its supporters in London), rushed a reply-paid cable inquiry to Los Angeles to secure from *the* Marx Brothers a denial that *they* subscribed to the *Daily Worker!*

It is not without importance that for some time official labor circles have been seeking to excuse the French government's suppression of the Communist Party and of militant trade unionism. Thus Sir Walter Citrine has declared that "the French government acted quite logically in declaring the Communist Party illegal," since it "regarded the Communist Party of France, perfectly rightly, as the agent of a foreign hostile power." (In Britain, he added, it was not necessary to be so "logical.") Many variants of these arguments are being put forward and the official contact between the British and French union leadership seems to be largely aimed at "fixing" the British labor movement according to the French model.

THE WORKING CLASS

What now of the general position of the working class? Unemployment has gone up again, now standing at over a million and a half; and, contradictory though it seem, the government demands the entry of two million women into industry. Railwaymen, miners, and machinists, after prolonged negotiations for wage increases, have had only part of their claims conceded. The miners, for instance, demanded a rise of 16 cents a shift and got 10 cents, the machinists, instead of $2.50 more a week, have got $1.25. Relating these increases to the cost of living, these key grades of industry are still left worse off than before the war. Discontent is accordingly widespread, and has popped off occasionally in brief local protest strikes, as recently with the machinists at a London aircraft factory. Although the Mineworkers Federation has accepted the 10 cents by a large majority in a ballot vote, strong opposition came from the South Wales and Scottish coalfields; and there has been a crop of local pit strikes in Yorkshire.

It is interesting to note that wage militancy is coupled with the growing opposition to the war and with resistance to the anti-Soviet drive which reached unprecedented heights over Finland. Thus, in Scotland the district miners' unions in Fife and Lanarkshire, respectively, have called for strike action to force the government to call a truce and negotiate peace, and have decisively defeated a resolution condemning the Soviet action in Finland. In South Wales the miners' union held a conference at which their attitude to the war was discussed and the matter has now been referred to the union locals throughout the coalfield. The war, the USSR, and the political "truce" which the Labor Party uneasily maintains (officially explaining that it isn't really a truce at all—only an agreement not to contest by-elections!) are the political issues on which working class opinion is being expressed. More and more markedly

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this opinion opposes the government and official Labor Party line.

Scotland and Wales—both storm centers in the last war, incidentally—are again to the fore. Under the auspices of the Trades Council of Glasgow a conference representing 100,000 trade unionists declared against the war and in support of the Soviets' action in Finland. The Trades Council of Cardiff, capital of Wales, has called on the Labor Party to end the political truce and initiate a campaign to overthrow the present government, "a government of the ruling class of bankers and capitalists opposed to the interests of the workers."

The Trades Council of London itself, representing 300,000 trade unionists of the metropolis, refused to endorse a resolution condemning the Soviet Union and unanimously protested against the persecutions in France; this, too, after exceptional efforts had been made to "purge" the Council's leadership of any Red taint.

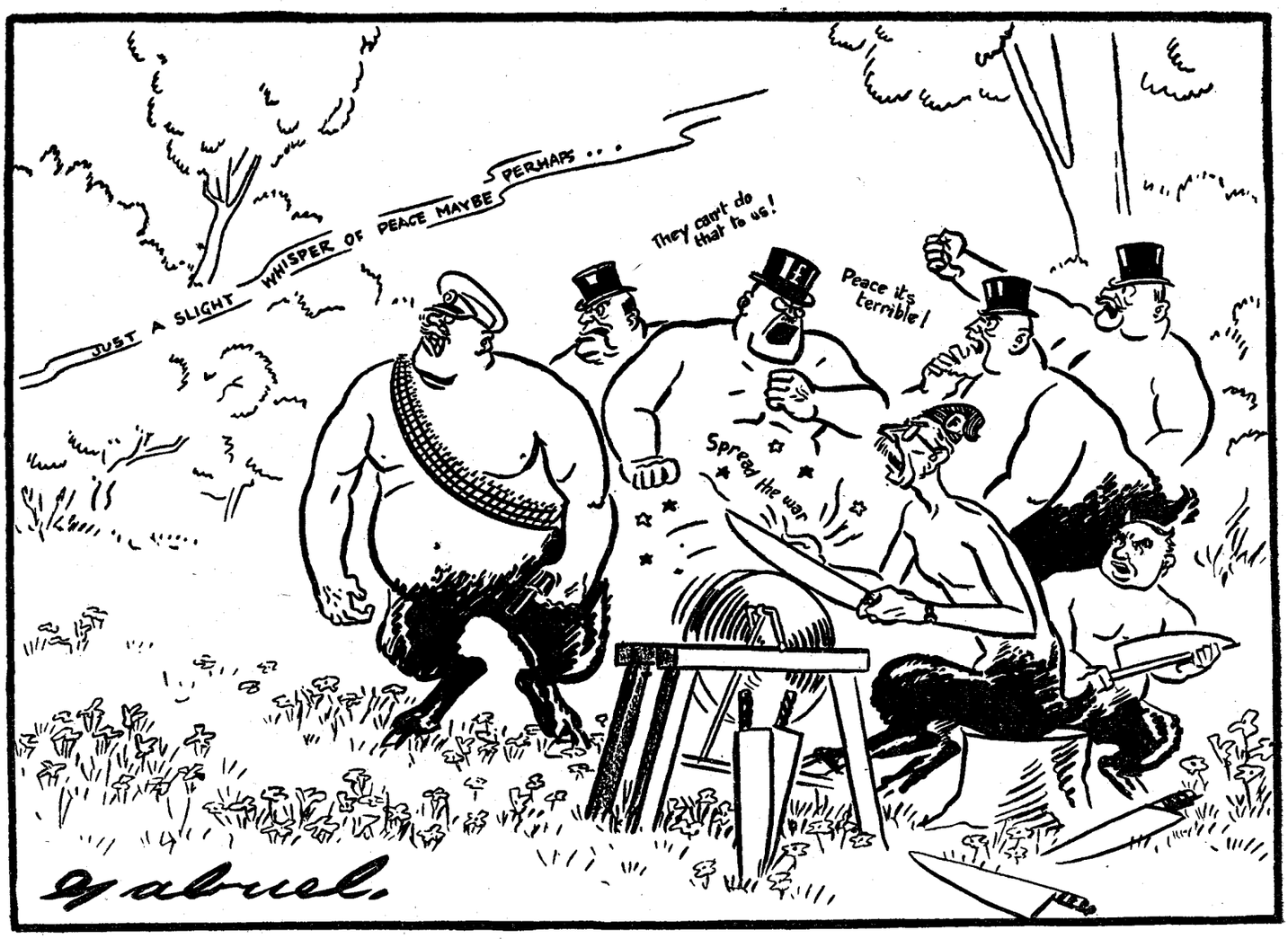
Union and Labor Party locals throughout the country have been going on record with similar opinions. Labor leaders have been making heavy weather at the regional rallies which are being held to hear them expound the official Labor Party war aims. Of two of these the *New Statesman,* itself pro-war, reports that "in both cases the speaker soon had most of the conference against him . . . nearly everyone felt that the party leaders had entirely failed to make their opposition to Mr. Chamberlain clear to the country." At a conference of the Essex Federation of Trades Councils, despite a speaker from the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, only five delegates out of eighty voted against an anti-war resolution. There is something symbolic, too, in the united refusal of the movement, Labor Party and unions alike, in Birmingham, Mr. Chamberlain's home town, to associate with a big meeting in the City Hall to be addressed by the prime minister.

A pointer to interesting local labor developments comes from the London borough of Lambeth, whose Council has (or rather had) a Labor Party majority. One councilor was expelled from the Labor Party for supporting the anti-war candidacy of Councilor Searson in the recent Southwark by-election (Searson polled fifteen hundred as against five thousand-odd for the official Labor Party candidate). Three others thereupon resigned with him and have constituted themselves an independent group on the Council, holding the balance between official labor and the tories. Esher, the expelled councilor, has announced his intention to join the Communist Party. Significant of the views among the intellectual youth of the movement is the decisive vote of the University Labor Federation (the organization of Socialist students, an affiliate of the Labor Party) condemning the "imperialist war."

OFFICIAL LABOR

If the trends of opinion that I have briefly outlined are steadily embracing wider and wider circles among the active people in the labor movement, the story is vastly different as regards the movement's leadership, who still, after all, command mass support. The leadership, to quote its latest lengthy declaration of policy, "unreservedly supports" the war, of course; but what is most marked now is the extremity of its anti-Sovietism and its attacks on the Communists.

Finland was the key issue here. I will not weary you by repeating the endless Laborite tirades on this subject. Nor will your readers need, I take it, any refutation of persons who talk of "the free Finnish democracy" or "an outpost of *republican* democracy" (shades of Mannerheim's 1918 plan to hand the crown



"DOWN IN THE FOREST SOMETHING STIRRED. . . ." *A Gabriel cartoon attacks the warmakers in the English "Daily Worker." The Communist paper continues its fight, hampered of course by the censor.*

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of Finland to a Hohenzollern!). But whereas the Labor Party executive a short time ago attacked the Soviet Union's "shameless imitation of the Nazi technique in foreign policy," it recently issued a pamphlet entitled *Finland: the Criminal Conspiracy of Stalin and Hitler,* which speaks of the *"agreement"* between "the two gangsters," talks of Stalin's "blood guilt and complicity with Nazi Germany," describes Stalin as the "Red czar" who is the "executor of the traditional imperialism of czarist Russia," and declares that fascism and Bolshevism are "identical political systems."

The top leadership of the labor movement here have, in fact, become the buglemen of the anti-Soviet crusade. It is labor leaders who most vigorously advocated the spreading of the war through Scandinavian intervention in Finland; and the recent official labor delegation to Finland, headed by Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the Trades Union Congress, urged a wide increase of British aid to Tannerheim. That delegation, by the way, returned with a fine crop of vintage stories dating from the Finnish handouts of the early days of the war—they "heard" about machine-gunned civilians (even "plowmen in the fields"—in 50 degrees of frost!), and of course repeated that the Red Army were "poor specimens" who "go to the attack with their own machine guns threatening them from behind." Please note, *per contra,* the final comment of the military correspondent of the London *Times,* who spoke of the "great courage" of the Red Army men, who "show great resolution both in attack and in defense." It seems fitting somehow that the labor leaders who refused to send a delegation to Spain, and who supported the criminal "non-intervention" policy against the Spanish republic, should not only have hastened to Finland but should also have sent their representatives to sit among dukes and lords and eminent persons from the Social Register who, with the substantial support of our Big Five Banks, formed the Finland Fund, similar to your own Mr. Hoover's "Finnish Relief Fund." Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Labor Party chairman, and William Holmes, Trades Union Congress chairman, sat on this body's executive under the presidency of—Lord Plymouth, who was president of the "non-intervention" committee, and cheek by jowl with Lord Phillimore, leading behind-the-scenes reactionary politician and chairman of the pro-Franco "Friends of National Spain."

Of course, the capitulation of Helsinki and the conclusion of the Soviet-Finnish peace have given these fellows a terrific blow, which strengthens the Labor Party rank and file in its conviction that its own stand on Finland was correct. Repercussions of this peace within England are naturally likely to be profound, and far-reaching. Thus our inspection of the home front brought us round to foreign affairs (as I suggested it might), and the latest developments abroad will in turn have the deepest effects on things at home.

ALLEN HUTT.

Profits on Wings

The Administration agrees to supply Britain and France with three thousand planes a month by the end of 1940. Why?

THE American aircraft industry is the principal beneficiary of the war to date. Its rapid expansion falls in with the administration's anxiety about the needs of the air forces of England and France and is a serious step in the plans to carry this country into the war.

According to the National City Bank Bulletin for March 1940 the profits of the fourteen leading "aircraft and parts" manufacturers in 1939 were 964 percent greater than in 1938. This was on a sales volume of about $250,000,000 which represented an increase of 67 percent over the sales of 1938, the previous record year. By way of comparison, the 960 leading manufacturing companies in the National City Bank's compilation showed an increase of 98.1 percent in net profits in the same period.

On a net worth of approximately $50,000,000, aircraft showed a return of 15.5 percent, against 1.4 percent in 1938. But all this is so much chicken feed in the light of the new business which the industry now has and expects to book. For in February 1940 the backlog of unfilled orders already amounted to $600,000,000. Of that some 60 percent consists of orders for foreign military and naval use. The Allied purchasing commissions now in this country are prepared to buy another $1,000,000,000 worth of war planes.

Clearly the aircraft industry of 1939 will have to expand to fill the orders of 1940. To some extent it is attempting to meet the avalanche of new business by introducing mass production methods. In the case of North American Aviation, Inc., the influence of General Motors (which owns 30 percent of its stock) has brought in the assembly line which can turn out ten planes a day! Some work can be let out to other industries. But it is evident that additional plant will be necessary. Within a few months the three leading companies will have tripled their floor space.

Here a bogy enters. Those plants will constitute overexpansion of the industry when the war ends. With this fear ever present, the aircraft manufacturers, aided by the direct intervention of the President and Secretary Morgenthau, insist that the Allies pay for the extension of plant. These war baby factories, they argue, could then be demolished after the war or kept in reserve by the government with no loss to the manufacturers. The Treasury Department is expected to ease their "burden" further by permitting huge charge-offs for "depreciation" on the investment in added facilities, which means that the manufacturers will be able to reap fantastic profits on their war orders.

At the moment a three-cornered struggle is threatening to put a low ceiling on the soaring hopes of the plane manufacturers. The conflict between the army, the President, and the industry arises out of the determination of the administration to use aircraft production "as a major instrument of foreign policy" (*Business Week,* March 16, 1940). Roosevelt wants to help the Allies win the war by providing them with two thousand to three thousand planes a month by the end of 1940. He wants the Allies to pay for erecting in this country the largest aircraft production industry in the world, with the consequent increase in American war strength. He wants to maintain the superiority of our own air force by requiring priority on American orders. But this desire is complicated by his aim to keep the Allied air fleets superior or equal to the German, and also to keep the business in the USA.

MUNITIONS BOARD

As soon as the war began, Roosevelt prepared to do his bit. The Army and Navy Munitions Board was set up to coordinate British and French purchases. *Business Week* reported the story (March 9, 1940):

> Without warning the clearance committee was sidetracked by the White House. . . . The Treasury has been delegated the job . . . because it can make US industry step around faster than the army can. No lash has a sharper sting than the one which Mr. Morgenthau carries—how much industrialists are to be taxed for plant expansions. The critics [the army group—R. S.] also point out that his concern over the bottleneck in aircraft engine production isn't due to serious delays in deliveries of planes to the army and navy. The real reason, they say, is the White House's anxiety to do everything possible to aid the Allies quickly, at the same time not to give the country the impression of being unneutral.

The controversy has centered around the attempt of the Curtiss-Wright Corp. to substitute one hundred or more Curtiss P-40's for the P-36's, a slower plane, which the French ordered last year. A few months ago the army contracted for $14,000,000 worth of these planes, the largest single order for one type of plane ever placed by our army or navy. Few P-40's have as yet been delivered to the American air force. Curtiss is booked for a year with US Army orders. Yet not only is the company prepared to release this plane to the Allies, but Roosevelt himself backed up the transaction by explaining that the machine would be delivered stripped of any secret devices.

Actually there are speedier planes available than the P-40. For example Lockheed's P-38 interceptor, a twin Allison-engined pursuit plane, is reputed to be the fastest military model under development anywhere in the

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world. The War Department has already placed an order for over $7,000,000 of these ships. The Bell Airacobra, one of the speediest pursuit planes made, has the additional virtue of carrying a cannon which fires through the hub of the propeller. Incidentally, the Allison engine, a liquid-cooled motor for high speed, is the motive power of the P-40, and is another General Motors finger in the war profits pie.

FDR VS. THE ARMY

The army has chosen to make the P-40 its test case, however. But both Roosevelt and the aircraft industry want the orders now. On March 19 the President "urged mass sales of United States planes abroad to build up production channels in this country, and had branded as 'bunk' reports that military secrets would be disclosed" (New York *Times,* March 22). Within thirty-six hours, as the *Times* reporter could not help remarking, the Allied purchasing mission formally asked the government to permit immediate sale of the latest experimental and secret war planes of the army and navy. The Allies' buyers took the hint promptly.

Stirring up a tempest in a congressional teapot, the army succeeded in having a committee of the House called to investigate the release of planes to the Allies before our air corps has received any production models.

Behind the scenes there is a struggle for favors and for control of aircraft sales. It will be to the advantage of the Allies if the army loses the fight. The Army and Navy Munitions Board wants to retrieve the powers of which it was divested. In the New York *Times* of March 17, Hanson W. Baldwin wrote:

> Also figuring in the investigation will be reports that the army is disgruntled because despite the increasing willingness of the administration to release the latest types of our planes to the Allies, there has not been cooperation in kind, from England at any rate. Army requests to buy two British Rolls Royce Merlin aircraft engines and to send an air mission to Britain to observe the aerial war operations were refused. . . .

Let there be no illusions about the motives of either the brass hats in the War and Navy departments or the congressional Military Affairs Committee. There are no defenders of peace among them. They are up in arms because, in addition to the reasons given above, the products of many aircraft manufacturers are being ignored by the Allied buyers. There are close ties between the manufacturers and the military and naval forces. For example, Major Reuben Hollis Fleet, president of Consolidated Aircraft Corp., was formerly contracting officer for the army air corps. The head of Brewster Aeronautical Corp., Mr. James Work, was once a navy aeronautical engineer.

It must be remembered also, that the manufacturers have been doing the experimental work for the air forces. Under the Vinson-Trammell act, the Secretary of War is authorized to purchase sample aircraft of unsuccessful bidders and to pay them up to 75 percent of the cost applicable "in the opinion of the secretary" to the development of the samples. Since experimental costs are elastic, and the military services are dependent upon the industry, the rewards for the manufacturers have been considerable.

Planes and Steel

THE stockmarket's bouncing war babies, aircraft and steel, are thriving on our government's "neutrality" pablum. Curtiss-Wright and subsidiaries have announced a net profit of $5,218,259 in 1939, highest in the corporation's history. Last week the War Department gave airplane manufacturers permission to postpone delivery of planes contracted for by the army, clearing the way for Franco-British orders, which are expected to total a billion dollars. Twenty-one hundred of our late-type planes will be available for Allied purchase. According to "reports in aircraft circles," a United Press story from Los Angeles relates, a British-French purchasing commission has already placed orders for $200,000,000 worth of war planes, the largest order in history—enough to keep plane factories in southern California alone running full time for more than two years.

About steel, the headlines of March 30 tell most of the story: "War Sends Steel Exports to Twenty-Year High." As in aircraft, abnormal expansion of the industry is indicated (offices and personnel of some leading steel export companies have already been increased 100 percent), with consequent dependence on war orders. Just how high the foreign purchases are running isn't made known to the public, since the steel companies cooperate with the Allied buyers' policy of secrecy. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., US Steel Corp. chairman, announces a net profit of $41,119,934 for last year, contrasting with the $7,715,454 deficit of 1938; the board of directors votes a "surprise dividend" of $1 a share on common stock; the ghoulish watchers of the ticker tape smile; and everyone is happy—everyone but the American people, who learned in 1916 how fast war babies can grow into war.

LIMIT ON PROFITS

But under this act and other legislation there is a limit of 12 percent imposed on the profits to be made on all government aircraft orders. The limitation is enforced by Treasury Department regulations. Now, when the gravy is thick and the pickings at their richest, with the profit bars down on foreign orders, those aircraft manufacturers who have been left out in the cold are using their friends in the services and in Congress. With Allied purchasing directed by an army and navy board, they are sure that foreign orders would be distributed more evenly.

Meantime the stocks of the leading companies, those who are getting the Allied business, are booming. The Morgan-controlled Atlas Corp. bought Curtiss-Wright which has $170,000,000 in orders on hand (the largest backlog in the industry) and more coming.

The Allied purchasing mission, a composite of English trading shrewdness and French thrift, idles and temporizes until eager American business men accuse it of proceeding "with amazing vacillation and red tape." But their tactics are bearing fruit. They will get the newest, fastest, most powerful planes America can build. It is a commentary on the English estimate of the character of the war in 1940 that they are negotiating for 1941 delivery of planes and are making inquiries for "sample" orders only of anti-aircraft guns, shells, and other munitions.

AIRCRAFT WORKERS

To the workers in aircraft there are no windfalls in prospect. Including the salaries of executives, the *average* wage in the industry is about $1,400 a year. Organization in aircraft is still weak and the thousands who wait for the few jobs available are a club in the hands of the army-minded employers. The aircraft industry holds no solution to declining capitalism in search of "new industry" glands. Nor is it a haven for America's unemployed. At its peak the industry will employ only about 100,000 workers.

For labor the aircraft contracts are a double menace because they represent our first big financial stake in the war. When the money to pay for more planes runs out, the Allied investments in American plant will provide their arguments for loans. In addition there is already a drive against "aliens" and "subversive elements" in the aircraft factories, with Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation doing the Pinkerton.

The President of the United States has thrown neutrality to the winds in his eagerness to provide the Allies with all the planes they want. Will Mr. Roosevelt shrink when Chamberlain asks for our young men?

ROBERT STARK.

Diehards

OUR contemporary, *Newsweek,* has apparently become so cynical by its own reporting of Finnish news that it "doesn't believe the papers." Issue of March 18 gives as a reason for the USSR's interest in a Finnish peace "the realization that the war was an ill-conceived venture. Andrey Zhdanov, Leningrad Red leader, and driving force behind the invasion, has disappeared." Won't somebody in the *Newsweek* offices remember that Mr. Zhdanov was present at the peace negotiations, and signed the peace treaty?

Convert

THE New York *Times* of March 16 announced the receipt of John L. Spivak's book on Charles Coughlin, *Shrine of the Silver Dollar,* under "Religious Books: The following books of a religious or inspirational nature have been recently published."

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Lafayette, Don't Look for Us

Rev. Alson J. Smith tells of the millions of Americans who don't want war. A peace movement that can't be ignored.

ONE of the tragedies of World War I was the ease with which the so-called "peace movement" was transformed into a war movement as the crisis deepened and the nations approached Armageddon. Socialism, generally considered the international bulwark of peace, split, with some sections joining the rush toward war. The preachers, long the most vocal exponents of peace among men of good will, put aside their New Testaments and presented arms with amazing unanimity. Ex-pacifists in the labor movement, the YMCA, and the churches donned sackcloth and ashes, beat their breasts in public, and called for a war to the finish. Here and there a lonely individual stood up and, for religious or political reasons, refused to bow the knee. There were not many of them, and they were quietly incarcerated in Leavenworth and Atlanta.

The disillusion of the post-war years resulted in a mushrooming of peace organizations and committees of all sorts. Churches set up elaborate machinery for "peace education"; labor unions formed peace committees; various fellowships, leagues, and unions appeared on the American scene; and still other groups were organized to coordinate their activities. Ideologically these organizations varied from absolute pacifism and non-violence to sanctions and hemisphere defense. Most of them were religious in inspiration and they had a regrettable tendency to split into sects over minor tenets of the pacifist faith.

NEW UNITY

Until the rise of Nazism in Germany and the accelerated tempo of events in the Far East nearly all of these peace groups were of the absolute pacifist variety. "Non-violence" was the key word. But after the invasion of Manchuria by Japan and Hitler's rise to power in Germany several of them abandoned absolute pacifism and turned to collective security as the policy best fitted to secure world peace. The rapid growth of the American League Against War and Fascism, later the American League for Peace and Democracy, was an example of the shift of sentiment in the American peace movement. The whole movement then tended to divide on the absolute pacifism versus concerted action issue, with the advocates of both positions growing more and more dogmatic. Generally speaking, the religious peace groups continued to advocate absolute pacifism and isolation, while the labor groups shifted toward concerted action. By the time World War II appeared there was a war of words raging throughout the peace movement between the two groups, as well as many minor feuds between the various groups in both camps.

As long as there was no real war in progress the argument was purely academic and both sides enjoyed it immensely. But when the dreaded phenomenon actually appeared in Europe and was accompanied by governmental attempts to curb civil liberties in the United States and set this country on the road to participation in the war through loans and credits to belligerents, argument over the various points in the pacifist creed became not only futile but dangerous. What has happened since in the American peace movement is genuinely encouraging. Temporarily, at least, the groups in the movement—religious, political, labor, and fraternal—are united on one proposition, namely, that whatever may be said about war and violence in general, one thing stands out about the present war: *We must keep out!*

This new unity in the peace movement was illustrated at the recent Cleveland conference of the United Christian Council for Democracy, a coordinating organization for the social action groups in the American Protestant churches. All shades of opinion were represented among the four hundred-odd delegates, but there was unanimity on the proposition that the United States must keep out of the present war. Harold Fey's Fellowship of Reconciliation and Dr. Harry F. Ward's Methodist Federation for Social Service, at opposites ideologically, united on this proposition. The only dissenting voices were those few anglophile Anglicans who cannot bear to think of a world in which Britain is not "pater familias."

Merely to list the hundreds of peace organizations in the United States today would require a dozen of these pages. The largest and most important of them is the National Peace Conference, which coordinates the activities of thirty-nine of the most prominent of the peace groups, among them the American Youth Congress, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the United Student Peace Committee, the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. The six-point program of the National Peace Conference is as follows:

1. Keep the United States out of war.
2. Initiate continuous conference of neutral nations to procure a just peace.
3. Work for permanent world government as the basis of peace and security.
4. Prevent exploitation of war for private gain.
5. Recognize and analyze propaganda to prevent warped judgments and unjust animosities.
6. Strengthen American democracy through solving pressing domestic problems and vigorously safeguarding civil liberties.

The churches in the United States, seeing themselves deceived by the idealistic slogans of World War I, are organized to resist the appeals of the political demagogues today. The National Conference of Methodist Youth, with nearly a million members, has already raised the slogan: "Lafayette, Don't Look for Us." Sunday, April 21, has been designated by the Disciples of Christ as "Enrollment Sunday" for conscientious objectors. The Methodist Church, with more than eight million members, has petitioned the Supreme Court for the same privileges that are accorded to Quakers in wartime.

LABOR WANTS PEACE

But above all the voices demanding peace today rises the compelling voice of labor. Both the AFL and the CIO have demanded that the United States *keep out* of this war, and this uncompromising demand is echoed by nine national and international unions, twenty-four local unions, six state bodies, and nineteen city and regional bodies. Typical of labor's willingness to forget differences on this question is Cincinnati's April 4 peace rally. The meeting has been sponsored by the conservative Cincinnati Peace League and the Greater Cincinnati Industrial Union Council. Both AFL and CIO leaders are to preside. In New York City the April 6 demonstration at Madison Square park is another example of both sections of the labor movement joining on a peace program. The National Maritime Union has been the welding force here.

There is the old wheeze about the nation that couldn't fight because it didn't have a good slogan. It has remained for the West Coast Maritime Federation to give the American peace movement an authentic and resolute slogan which today is being heard all over the country—"THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING!" On a recent trip through the Midwest I saw the red, white, and blue button bearing this slogan pinned to the caps of miners in Ohio, to the overalls of farm boys, to the leather jackets of steel workers in Cleveland, and—of all places—to the coat lapel of the editor of one of America's leading religious periodicals!

During the past decade the American people have suffered. Regardless of what some politicians (and ministers to Canada) may say, they are not going to shed their blood to uphold a world order as rotten as this one is. When the bigwigs of press, politics, and business turn on the 1917 record about saving democracy, civilization, etc., the people who will have to do the saving will reply with the single-mindedness of a Sam Goldwyn: "Include me out."

REV. ALSON J. SMITH.

Inspiration

ITEM concerning James H. R. Cromwell, United States minister to Canada, from a New York *Times* story about the sale of his mother's Palm Beach guest house:

The guest house is situated in a tropical setting and is surrounded by a menagerie of monkeys and brilliantly colored tropical birds. Mr. Cromwell stayed there for some time a few years ago when he was writing his book, *In Defense of Capitalism.*

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The Klan Rides to the Polls

Southern Negroes want the vote. White-hooded reaction moves again. Flogging potential voters. How the administration reacts.

Washington, D. C.

JAMES A. BRIER of Greenville, S. C., decided about a year and a half ago that he would like to register the people of his community as voters in the 1940 elections. The Greenville *News* reports only about one hundred persons voting in this city of more than forty thousand; and it would appear offhand that Brier had set himself a laudable and patriotic purpose. But Brier is a Negro, a teacher in the Negro schools of Greenville. He is sixty-nine years old, has drooping mustaches, and is quiet-spoken and gentle.

He is a Negro. And he is more than that. He is a symbol of the courageous Negro fighting for the rights of his people in the South. He is the kind of Negro who is the particular target of a resurgent Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina, in Georgia, in Tennessee, in Florida. Brier's effort to enroll the Negroes of Greenville as voters is fast becoming a *cause celebre*. And the violent counterattack of the Klan, aided by local officials, against the same kind of democratic movement which it was originally organized to strike down has presented a most embarrassing problem to the Department of Justice. The administration can't afford to lose the support of the reactionary Southern politicians in an election year, and at the same time it can't afford to lose the Negro vote in the North.

Brier thought he would get started by setting up a branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Greenville. His plan was received favorably, and soon the branch had one hundred members who began to trickle to the election offices to register as voters. By the summer of 1939 enough Negroes had registered to worry the local powers. The first moves of the opposition were subtle. The Greenville *News* printed a photograph of Negroes, mostly women, registering. Papers in the South don't usually publish pictures of Negroes. When they do, there is a purpose. This time the purpose was spotting victims for future punishment.

THE KLAN RIDES

In the fall of last year, the Klan began to ride in the Negro streets of Greenville. Fred V. Johnson, chief of staff for the Klan in South Carolina and the only unmasked klansman in the state, issued a statement published in the Greenville *News* of October 3 giving a clear-cut explanation of the renewed activities of the Klan:

> Our fathers and grandfathers, klansmen of old, saved this state from Negro rule and Northern political domination during Reconstruction days. . . . Almost the same influences which caused the trouble seventy years ago are again at work in our country. These influences have set in motion forces which threaten South Carolina. Only the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan can and will curb these forces. . . . Preserve white supremacy in South Carolina. Ride on, klansmen, ride on. The order prohibiting you from appearing in public in your robes is hereby rescinded.

A massed band of about forty klansmen stripped and flogged a Negro woman. Some of those who had dared to register as voters were whipped and driven out of town. Elrod Neeley, a disabled Negro war veteran, was kidnapped from his home by a hooded mob of fifty and left badly beaten on the porch of a Negro lawyer who had dared to defend the rights of his Negro clients. Klansmen invaded a Negro NYA camp, terrorized the youngsters, and left signs which said: "Niggers, your place is in the cotton patch."

Night-riding was but one phase in the drive of the Klan and its allies against the Negroes of Greenville. The majesty of the law was soon invoked. William Anderson, a nineteen-year-old Negro boy was one of the first to feel the impact of the forces of law and order. Anderson was assistant secretary of the NAACP branch and head of its youth council. Like most of the Negroes in Greenville, he did menial work for a living. He was assistant janitor in a local school. Anderson was arrested and hailed into court. He was charged with having used the school phone to call up a white girl and try to make a date with her. The evidence that he had committed this awful crime was of the flimsiest. But he was convicted, sentenced to thirty days on the chain gang and a $100 fine, and required to put up a $5,000 bond. The case has been appealed and is pending.

Jesse Owens' case is no longer pending. Owens was a bootblack in a barber shop that catered to white customers. Next door was a restaurant. Unfortunately the waitresses were paid so little that some of them had to engage in a well known sideline. Owens frequently carried notes from men who came into the barber shop to the waitresses. He did this one day as usual. But he was arrested on the same charge as Anderson and given the same sentence. Two weeks later the waitress was persuaded to change her story. She now announced that Owens had tried to rape her. The charge, as described in her warrant, was ridiculous. Owens was found guilty and sentenced to two years on the chain gang. He died after serving three weeks of his sentence. The authorities called it pneumonia. Negro eye-witnesses say that his body was covered with lash marks.

TERRORISM IN GREENVILLE

On November 15, the Klan decided that the time was ripe to go after Brier. Three separate groups clad in full regalia roamed the streets looking for the Negro teacher. One group went to Brier's home. He wasn't there, but they broke down three doors and searched the premises. Later in the evening the entire gang, about sixty in all, converged on the home of Mrs. Mildred Singleton, Brier's niece. She is a slight, good-looking young woman with fine features. When she came to Washington recently under the auspices of the National Negro Congress, with her uncle and two children, this writer had the opportunity to hear her version of the story as well as Brier's.

Many of the klansmen carried flashlights which they turned on the Singletons' home. Others had pistols, rifles, and heavy sticks. Mrs. Singleton managed to phone her uncle at the home of a friend and he got away safely. She told the klansmen that her uncle wasn't there, but they decided to hang around. A crowd of several hundred spectators gathered. The klansmen massed on the lawn and on the porch and in the street. Some of them opened up the bedroom window where the two little girls were sleeping. One of the children woke up and called out when she saw the hooded figures: "Mama, is this Hallowe'en?" Soon the kids began to cry. Mrs. Singleton called the police. They stood around and watched the klansmen. One policeman threatened to arrest Mrs. Singleton because she had made the complaint. She called the mayor. He sent more police who also stood around. Finally, the klansmen realized that Brier was not coming that night. They left voluntarily. They were not disturbed or dispersed by the police. An officer took a gun from one klansman. He returned it when the hooded procession left.

It is obvious that the situation in Greenville, and Greenville gives a typical picture of the Klan in action, calls for intervention by the federal authorities. Negro leaders pointed out that the Department of Justice can prosecute under the rarely enforced night-riding statute. They have pointed out, too, that the government could prosecute the klansmen who raided the NYA camp under Section 4 of the Hatch act which states that a conspiracy to deprive a person of benefits under the act constitutes a federal offense. They have also insisted that the department conduct a nationwide investigation of the Klan.

THE GOVERNMENT "ACTS"

But the department has been reluctant to act against the Klan, just as it has delayed and hesitated for months in the Georgia peonage case. The National Negro Congress hired a former FBI agent to investigate the South Carolina situation. John P. Davis, secretary of the Negro Congress, personally presented the results of the investigation to Frank Murphy early in January when he was taking care of issuing the orders for the Detroit raids and similar unfinished business before assuming his duties as justice of the Supreme Court. Murphy replied wearily:

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"You ask us to investigate the Klan. The Klan asks us to investigate you. We can't investigate everybody." Henry Schweinhaut, head of the department's Civil Liberties Unit, admitted that the raid on the NYA camp constituted a clear-cut violation of the Hatch act, but suggested that the matter be dropped because Governor Maybank promised that it wouldn't happen again. An FBI agent went to South Carolina and reported that nothing could be done by the government.

Negro leaders began to be impatient. "Is it because the administration is so concerned about keeping the support of the solid South that it has refused to act?" Davis asked bitterly.

In a final effort to jolt the department, eye-witnesses of the Klan terror and of the peonage system in Georgia were brought to Washington. Brier and Mrs. Singleton spent most of a day telling their story to Assistant Attorney General Rogge. Present at the conference and demanding action were influential Negro spokesmen.

Rogge refused to make any commitments at all about the most important demand of the delegation: a nationwide investigation of the Klan. He did, however, promise that the department would seriously consider giving Brier protection against mob violence and taking action against the Klan in South Carolina and against the Cunningham plantation in Georgia for keeping Negroes in peonage. Shortly after the conference with Rogge, a grand jury was set up in Atlanta to look into the flogging of Negroes in Georgia by the Klan, and an indictment against the Klan has been handed down. The administration has apparently realized that it was not good politics to go too far in ignoring the demands of the Negro people. The Negro leaders who saw Rogge summed up their attitude as follows: "It is our definite feeling that considerable and constant pressure will have to be brought before real, vigorous action will be taken that will result in federal prosecution of conditions approximating slavery in America today." And meanwhile James Brier has gone quietly back to Greenville to continue his dangerous and far-reaching mission.

ADAM LAPIN.

War Song

Under the palaces, the marble and granite of banks
Among the great columns based in a sunless slime
The anonymous bearers of sorrows
Toil in their ancient march.
they look like men
they look like men

Flesh sour with decay
Strung with old hunger
Claws curved to the grip of the masterless looms
Bones bent by the unceasing wheel
they look like men
they look like men

Clocks without face
Clocks without numbers
Dialing the days full of death
Grinding the nights in their rustless bowels,
they look like men
they look like men

Whence do they come? How endure?
How spring like dragons' teeth from gutters of death?
Full armed and numerous, whence do they go?
To gather red lilies sprung from their seas of blood.
they look like men
they look like men

The wheel has not broken
The stones have not crushed
The ooze has not buried
The sword has not slain
they look like men
they look like men

they look like men of war

ALEXANDER F. BERGMAN.

Author's note: The refrain "They look like men," etc., is the chorus of a militant Negro song sung by the Negro soldiers of liberation during the Civil War. It also expresses quite unmistakably a wish by slaves that men in uniform seen marching down the road are Union men.

Contempt of Dies

"CITED for contempt of the Dies committee"—it sounds almost like a gag. It's a deadly serious matter, though, for a great many Americans besides James Dolson and George Powers of Pennsylvania, already cited, and Dr. Albert Blumberg of Maryland, threatened with citation. These three Communists refused to answer certain of the committee's questions which were clearly irrelevant and personal. Here they displayed far more knowledge of the Constitution than the committee seems to possess; for Dies' agents seized them with no more formality than the serving of a subpoena. Records and documents were removed from their offices without a search warrant. This is the sort of un-American procedure that Martin Dies is supposed to be investigating. Yet the House of Representatives, which in January voted additional funds for the investigation upon Dies' promise to modify his lawless tactics, approved the contempt citation. Only Representatives Dunn and Eberharter of Pennsylvania and Marcantonio of New York protested. Mr. Dunn is demanding a long overdue inquiry into the committee itself by the Civil Liberties Unit of the Justice Department.

Of course Dies is not just out to get these three men. He wants them to turn over membership lists of the Communist Party which, as George Powers told the committee, would be used as an industrial blacklist. Subpoenas are now out for twelve CIO leaders in Dies' home state of Texas. Clarence Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker,* has also been subpoenaed, as well as three Communist Party officials in Massachusetts.

The witch-burners' ranks are growing. In New York the state legislature, which couldn't find money for adequate relief, has voted a $30,000 appropriation for a committee to investigate "subversive activities" in New York City schools. In California the Yorty "little Dies committee" is still going strong. These imitators of the gentleman from Texas, along with their leader, should be cited for contempt of the American people.

Foreign Agents?

"BUT all of the leaders [of the American Revolution]—to a greater or less extent—had come under the influence of Jean Jacques Rousseau's ideas about the natural rights of man. Chief among those was Thomas Jefferson . . ."—*Hendrik Willem Van Loon, "The Story of Democracy," New York "World-Telegram," March 25.*

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NEW MASSES

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★

This Is Not Our War!

NEW MASSES presents the current number as its contribution to April 6—the day when thousands of Americans march to the public places to petition their government to stay out of the European war. But not all who march that day march for peace. Governor Lehman, for example, has designated it as Army and Navy Day; the press beats its jingoistic drums and the administration plows ahead in its economic and political program which, if not checked, will inevitably drive this nation into war.

We believe the American people want no part of Europe's war. John L. Lewis said that about the CIO. We say that about America. The Rev. Alson J. Smith, in this issue, summarizes the extent of the anti-war sentiment in America. That sentiment must crystallize into an organized, united movement, irresistible in its drive to keep America's sons from becoming the cannon fodder of 1940. John Reed said it in the old *Masses* and we quote him in this issue: "The President didn't ask us; he won't ask us if we want war or not. The fault is not ours. It is not our war." Nor is this war ours. The people of America will do more than pray that President Roosevelt will not repeat President Wilson's tragic history. April 6 is a forecast; let none misjudge its meaning.

More Funds for Relief?

"YIELDING to pressure," the tory press bitterly calls the House's decision to hike appropriations for the CCC and National Youth Administration—$50,000,000 above budget estimates in the first case, $17,000,000 in the second. The press was right; pressure came from the people, the same pressure that led the Senate to add $299,000,000 to the House Farm Bill. Now there are reports that the votes for additional farm aid will be reciprocated by votes for higher relief funds. The tories have a word for that too: "logrolling." Of course nobody holds a patent on logrolling, not even the robber barons that invented it. All it means in this case, however, is that congressmen who recognize the need for more farm aid cannot logically deny the necessity for additional work relief. The House's really reprehensible action last week was to cut funds for the National Labor Relations Board and the Wages and Hours Division of the Labor Department. This was not done for economy; it is the result of the Smith committee's dirty work against the NLRB.

WPA appropriations will come up shortly. House hearings opened this week amid rumors that the President had been forced to reconsider the $500,000,000 slash recommended in his budget message. Business declines, unemployment mounts steadily, and mayors protest that the relief crisis in their cities is becoming intolerable. Col. F. C. Harrington, WPA commissioner, announced that some 200,000 persons would be dropped from the rolls during the month of April because of the shortage in current funds. Congress' immediate job should be to repeal the Woodrum amendment which prohibits deficiency appropriations for WPA; the next step is to vote an adequate appropriation for the 1941 fiscal year. No money? What about those two billion dollars planned for "national defense"?

Can Workers Organize?

APPARENTLY unions have the right to organize industry, but not too much of it. While the six weeks' old trial of the CIO fur union leaders has shown only that the defendants were guilty of cleansing an industry of racketeers, federal grand juries in Cleveland and New York indicted plumbing and electrical unions for "violations" of the anti-trust laws. And in the District of Columbia, Judge Peyton Gordon overruled a demurrer to an indictment against a teamsters' local and ordered it to stand trial.

It has been shown time and again that the anti-trust acts were never intended for use against unions. Certainly, the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act and the National Labor Relations Act has placed unions beyond the operation of the anti-monopoly laws. For the latter are designed to foster competition by preventing combination while the NLRA is designed to foster combinations of workers by encouraging collective bargaining. Workers cannot be indicted under the one law and remain the beneficiaries of the other. If unionization of an entire industry is a crime, as Judge Bondy in the fur workers' case claims, then the right to join unions and bargain collectively has been limited beyond the fondest hopes of the Smith committee investigating the NLRA. If it is a crime to strike because an employer has a contract with another union, then the "sanctity" of contract has found a new sanction. But these are details which must not obscure the basic fact that the attack on unions has the endorsement of the government. Rights under the NLRA, if the administration succeeds in its present proceedings, will be enjoyed by workers jailed under the anti-trust law.

LaGuardia's Police Riots

NOBODY we know was around when Mayor LaGuardia got that letter from William Gaston, member of the Society of Cincinnatus, and the mayor hasn't said anything about it. In the event you're not one of the initiate, the society is composed of direct descendants from American Revolutionary officers. Mr. Gaston—who happens to be the grandson of a governor of Massachusetts—was on Fifth Avenue when the five hundred stalwart bluecoats charged the score or so of pickets before the French consulate on March 20. "This is no personal gripe," he wrote the mayor, "in spite of the beating I got, in spite of the public indignity I was subjected to by this officer treating me like a common thug." He demanded redress "for all people in the future, maybe more defenseless" than himself "who will be brutally ridden down and kicked around by cops . . ."

Now Mr. Gaston happens to be the scion of an old Boston family, but thousands of citizens of more humble stock are concerned with the same questions he poses. The attacks of LaGuardia's police on the demonstrators before the French consulate on March 20, and again about a week later, should evoke the most vehement protest of all devotees of civil rights. We were therefore shocked to find a lukewarmish editorial in last week's *Nation,* judicially balancing its criticism of the police with a more heated attack upon the demonstrators. We might refer the editors of the *Nation,* as well as our mayor, to Mr. Gaston's comment. The picketing, as he says, was "a legitimate expression of opinion guaranteed by our Bill of Rights, as I, as an American, have always understood it. Nor can I ignore the humane cause for which they were shouting—TO LET PEOPLE LIVE." To let people live, gentlemen, that is the question.

McGeehan vs. Bill of Rights

IN VOIDING Bertrand Russell's appointment to the faculty of City College, Justice McGeehan raises issues that are broader than the question of academic liberty. His decision jeopardizes the constitutional guarantee of intellectual freedom in *every* sphere of American life. Justice McGeehan's pious reference to the founding fathers is a perversion of the plain intent of the Bill of Rights, which was designed to protect men from persecution for their religious, political, or philosophical views.

He seeks to establish a test of opinions as the basis for a far-fetched interpretation of criminal law. He argues that Mr. Russell's views on questions affecting personal conduct are not in conformity with the criminal code of New York State. He does not argue that Mr. Russell has actually violated this code; nor can he establish any causal relation between Mr. Russell's views and specific violations of the code by people who have been "incited" by the philosopher. The court's decision merely affirms that a person with Mr. Russell's views should not be permitted to exercise public influence. More than that, the ruling overrides the decision of the Board of Higher Education, which is legally empowered to pass judgment on the competence of New York's public-college teachers.

Justice McGeehan's position, if sustained, would enable any reactionary judge to curb not only teachers, but writers and popularly elected officials on the ground that their per-

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sonal views do not correspond with those of the court. The separation of church and state implies immunity from political discrimination on the ground of religious opinions. It is to be hoped that the fight will be carried to the higher courts. It is important that this bigoted ruling be reversed.

Gagging Spivak

FOR the second time within a week John L. Spivak has been jailed for telling the truth. The official charge is criminal libel. The real criminals are those responsible for arresting one of America's most brilliant and courageous journalists. Spivak was first taken into custody on March 25 in Pittsburgh on charges made by one Edward F. Sullivan. In his booklet *Secret Armies* Spivak accused Sullivan, who was formerly a Dies committee investigator, of being a labor spy, anti-Semite, and pal of the Nazis. Spivak was handcuffed to a policeman, pulled into a car, and taken to the police station at Coraopolis, Pa., where he was mauled around by police. Bail was set at $5,000, which is far above what is usual in such cases.

After his release on bond, Spivak was arrested again five days later when he went to Coraopolis to renew the bond. This time a new charge of criminal libel was clamped on him after a warrant had been sworn out by Kurt Sepmeier, instructor in German at Wichita (Kan.) University. At a hearing on Monday Justice of the Peace George Kayzer voided Spivak's $5,000 bond and demanded that two new bonds of $5,000 and $2,000 each be raised.

This whole procedure is extraordinary. It is not law enforcement, but political persecution. In the course of his exposes of fascists and anti-labor racketeers Spivak has stepped on many toes, including those of Father Coughlin and the Christian Front. NEW MASSES is proud to have helped Spivak do some of the stepping. There are certain powerful interests that would like to "get" John Spivak, as they would like to "get" NEW MASSES. But neither of us can be so easily silenced.

Canada's Elections

PREMIER MACKENZIE KING'S "Liberal" government outsmarted the tweedledee Conservative Party in Canada's elections last week. The Conservatives had openly asked for "total war" and let it be known they were for conscription, thereby giving the Liberals a lesser-evil advantage. True, the Liberals said, "no conscription." In 1935 they said, "no war without the people's consent" but that promise went overboard last September. Conscription, as well as total war, can come later—Premier King has got his "mandate." He forced it in the absence of Parliament and before the voters could know too much about the government's war plans.

The election itself was a farce, since the real issue, peace, couldn't even be discussed. People who wanted no war at all, and dared to say so, were arrested under the Defense of Canada Regulations, which forbid making statements *"false or otherwise"* that are "likely to cause disaffection . . ." These regulations, which were never submitted to Parliament, provide for prosecution in the case of offenses "about to be committed." Whole organizations can be outlawed for the offense of a single member. A few weeks ago the Montreal branch of the Civil Liberties Union stated that sixty-four persons had been arrested under the defense regulations, and three newspapers banned. The ten Communist candidates were virtually kept from any open campaigning and party members who distributed anti-war leaflets were jailed. By deserting to Premier King, the "socialist" Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Social Credit leaders, and the New Democracy movement further deprived the people of a chance to protest the war.

This is what America's pro-Allied papers call "a triumph of democratic procedure in wartime."

Charlie McCarthy at Nanking

THE mountainous labors of Japan's "new order" have at long last produced their mouse: the puppet regime of Wang Ching-wei. Inaugurated at Nanking on March 30, this bastard child of aggression and treason spoke its piece, strutted obscenely before the portrait of that great anti-imperialist, Sun Yat-sen, and then sat down to let its betters take the stage. At the last minute an unexpected—or was it?—godfather appeared in far-off Tokyo: Sir Robert Craigie, British ambassador. Just two days before Wang did his act Sir Robert told a gathering, among whom was the Japanese foreign minister, that England and Japan were "ultimately striving for the some objective—namely, lasting peace and the preservation of our institutions from extraneous and subversive influences." In Nanking Wang Ching-wei translated the latter part of this statement less obliquely into "a common anti-Comintern front."

Though the Nanking puppet is straw and rags, there is about it the smell of blood—and oil. The financial section of the New York *Times* of March 31 reports: "An oil transaction probably having important political and economic significance recently was concluded between the Japanese and British governments." About one million barrels of crude oil produced in Iran have been sold to Japan by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., a majority of whose stock is owned by the British government. It is evident from this and from the Craigie speech that the British are once more engaged in sideswiping their most formidable rival, American imperialism. China and the USSR are likewise intended to be victims.

In the light of these developments the attitude of the United States becomes all-important. Secretary of State Hull has issued a strong statement refusing to recognize the Nanking puppet regime. But the question is: Just where is the strength of the United States being placed? Is this statement an augur of more effective aid to the Chinese people, or is it intended to put pressure on Japan to secure better terms for the joint exploitation of China? The administration's persistent blocking of an embargo on Japan, the meagerness of its practical assistance to China, and its active anti-Soviet and pro-British policy all point to the latter interpretation of its moves in the Far East.

Germany's White Book

THE importance of the latest German White Book, revealing sixteen documents allegedly from Polish ambassadors in Stockholm, London, Paris, and Washington, does not depend upon whether they are true or false in every detail. People who support the President's foreign policy can hardly complain if the Nazis give it publicity. People who oppose that policy realize that it did not develop suddenly in September. The New York *Herald Tribune,* leading Republican newspaper, accepts the validity of the documents in its editorial of March 31. "What the *facts* of the White Paper dramatize," it says, "is the complete unwisdom of the President's personal diplomacy." But they agree fully with his objectives, and criticize only his methods. And the editorial observes that "persons acquainted with the quoted diplomats agree that the views attributed to them in the White Paper resemble closely opinions which they express quite freely."

In the light of the President's insistence last week that latest-model airplanes be made available to the Allies, it doesn't seem strange that he favored such sales a year ago. In the light of Mr. Cromwell's Toronto speech (whose substance the administration has not disavowed), it does not seem surprising that Mr. Roosevelt decided to support the Allies in case of war, long before the war started. On reexamination of American policy since Munich, it is clear that Washington's inconsistent stand against fascist aggression was part of a consistent strategy whose assumptions were: If Britain and France could not maintain peace with Germany on the basis of "eastward" expansion, then they must oppose Germany. And the implication was that the United States would support England and France.

The German White Book restates what we already know about Polish policy. Colonel Beck, of odious memory, tried to play off all European powers against each other. NM readers recall from Theodore Draper's articles last December that the British betrayed Poland in the hope of deflecting Germany into battle with the Soviet Union. Mr. Chamberlain's plans were frustrated; but Mr. Roosevelt's unwarranted agitation against the USSR these last eight months betrays more than sympathy for Mr. Chamberlain's frustration. American policy itself must have been banking on the same outcome of Germany's aggression upon Poland, namely, conflict with the USSR.

Mr. Bullitt is reported to have declared

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that in case of war "the United States will not participate at the beginning but . . . will in the finish," which fits in exactly with Joseph Starobin's analysis elsewhere in this issue. It is clear as day that Washington wants the war to continue. Upon Mr. Welles' return from Europe the President assured the Stock Exchange that there is "scant immediate prospect for the establishment of any just, stable, and lasting peace in Europe." This is what he told the Christian Foreign Service Convocation three weeks ago. It is exactly what the Allies expect of him, and it conforms to the interests of American imperialism.

Though the Nazis are not above forgery, Mr. Hull's disclaimer of the German White Book is not too convincing. When he mumbles that "the alleged statements have not represented in any way the thought or policy of the American government," he simply fears to defend his policies before the people. The real question is: Where is the administration leading? The answer is—only to disaster. For the implications, if not the *exact intention,* of Mr. Roosevelt's policy is to get us into this war early enough to preserve the British empire, and vigorously enough to prevent the advance of socialism in Europe.

Molotov's Speech

WITH Mr. Roosevelt's encouragement the Allied Supreme War Council has once again resolved "war to the finish." In contrast it was an inspiring relief to read Vyacheslav Molotov's address to the sixth extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet. His was a forthright speech. No double-talk obscured its self-confidence; it reflected the increased strength and power of the Soviet position in international affairs.

Apart from a critical reference to the US administration's "moral embargo," Molotov invited the improvement of trade relations—at the very moment when the Allied mission in Washington seeks American cooperation for a Pacific blockade. Clearly, the Soviet view is that exacerbation of Soviet-American relations can come only from this side the Atlantic.

Of Japanese relations Molotov reported the fisheries agreement and the final payment for the Chinese Eastern Railway. Enumerating still unsettled problems, such as the demarcation of the Mongolian frontier, the Soviet premier left no doubt of how confident the USSR feels toward Japan. To appreciate the sarcasm of Molotov's offer to purchase the southern half of the Sakhalin Peninsula, one must recall that Japan seized this territory from the czar in 1905; moreover, most of the Japanese fisheries and a good part of her oil depends on Sakhalin.

The Black Sea area remains a crucial danger spot to Soviet security. Rumania's position is still equivocal: While the USSR never recognized the seizure of Bessarabia, it has never raised the question of its return by force. There won't be any trouble, unless Soviet enemies insist upon finding it. But Molotov minced no language about the Anglo-French *troop concentration in Syria,* and—in the same week when Turkish generals were reported opening the Black Sea to Allied warships—Molotov warned that "the danger of playing with fire must be perfectly obvious to the powers hostile to the USSR, and to those of our neighbors who would become tools of this aggressive policy . . ."

Karelian-Finnish Republic

MOST extensive in Molotov's speech were his references to Finland. And his characterization of the British imperialists was as biting in its contempt and wholesome in its scorn as the evidence of their intervention in Finland merits. Molotov's castigation of the Social-Democrats emphasizes again and again how fully in the Leninist mold the Stalinist diplomacy and habit of mind is cast. New information was the figure of Red Army losses: 48,645, much less than the press has bruited about. And for those impatient souls who insist upon adjusting Soviet policy to their own amateur timetables, the Supreme Soviet has already clarified the fate of the ceded Finnish areas. The Karelian Autonomous Republic will be elevated to equal status as a Soviet Republic. The constitution will be revised for this change, elections have been planned, and for the benefit of the President of the United States "the inherent right of small nations" to their independence clarified in the socialist way. Toward Scandinavia, Molotov's comment was firm. Scotching all the tall tales of Soviet territorial demands, he did not fail to note the extent of Swedish help to the Finnish reactionaries. Ignoring any reference to Finland's internal affairs, he nevertheless left no doubt of Soviet opposition to policies of military revenge.

And Churchill

MOST important in Molotov's speech was his analysis of Soviet relations with both belligerents. Toward Germany the USSR reaffirms neutrality, and nothing more. Toward the Allies, Molotov pledges non-cooperation in their imperialist dilemma. This position, he concludes "serves as a restraining influence in preventing further extension and instigation of the war in Europe, and it is therefore in the interests of all nations anxious for peace." This is so explicit and forthright that Mr. Churchill's radio address last week-end provides meaningful contrast. Again, as in January, the first lord of the admiralty invites the neutrals into the spider's parlor, and bitter are the tears he shed o'er their plight. The duplicity of his prose enables him to insist that "it is no part of our policy to seek war with Russia," and yet promise "to follow this war wherever it leads." Churchill's references to the Finns were distinctly off key after the Soviet premier's caustic observations; his comment that the "exposure of the Russian Army and the Russian Air Force . . . has rightly heartened all the states that dwell upon the Russian border" is at once a provocative insult to the Soviet Union, and a clear case of acute "sour grapes of wrath."

It is clear from the detention of Soviet merchantmen in the Pacific that the Allies insist upon spreading the blockade. Their experts in Washington, Ashton-Gwatkin and Charles Rist, are making every effort to involve the United States in this design. It is true that the USSR has increased American purchases of strategic materials; the inference is that at least part of this goes to Germany. There is no proof of this, though that is precisely what the United States is doing. Its trade with the neutrals surrounding Germany increased suspiciously since September. The logical conclusion of the British demand would be a complete disorganization of world trade. And this leads only to the mutual exhaustion of every nation, and their common involvement in common disaster. In the contrast between the Churchill speech and Molotov's will be found the contrast of systems: The former stumbles deeper and deeper into the quagmire it created; the latter observes from a new peak in its power the mutual misery of the capitalist world, reaffirming, for all peoples to see, the superiority of socialism in all things.

British Labor Calls for Peace

THE growing opposition to the war, which Allen Hutt notes in his article from London in this issue, has reached such proportions that it has burst onto the front pages of even the pro-Allied press in this country. Though Herbert Morrison, Laborite chief, has hastened to explain that only 1 percent of the labor movement opposes the war, the developments of last week give him the lie. At a conference of the Cooperative Party, delegates representing 1,323,000 members, though they constituted a minority at the meeting, condemned the war as imperialistic. They also called for an immediate armistice and the convoking of an international workers' conference to discuss peace terms. The Essex District of the National Union of Railwaymen, the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks, the British Federation of Cooperative Youth, the Cooperative Men's Guild, and the National Association of Labor Teachers have likewise joined the swelling army of peace.

This surging anti-war sentiment is also expressed in the statement written especially for NEW MASSES by one of the most courageous champions of peace and progress in England, the dean of Canterbury. We welcome this statement, though we do not share the dean's faith that President Roosevelt is seriously interested in promoting peace. On the contrary, all indications are that he is using his influence to press the Allies on to more intensive combat. We agree with the dean that a peace conference should be called to include both the United States and the USSR. We would, however, place much more emphasis on the independent action of the people of the capitalist countries (this problem does not exist in the USSR where the people are in power)—such action as is already under way in England, the United States, and in other lands.

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Mr. Corey Reconsiders—III

The final article of a series by A. Landy answering Lewis Corey's strange interpretations of Marxism. The meaning of "democratic transition to socialism."

LEWIS COREY'S third and final article (in the *Nation*) deals with three questions: (1) the transition to socialism; (2) the shape of the new order; (3) the state. All the contradictions and misrepresentations which we met in the first two articles in the form of "theory" and "history" are reproduced in the third article in the form of a "concrete program." Let us begin with the "transition to socialism."

Capitalism is declining, Corey tells us, but "there is no sharp economic break between capitalism and socialism." Hence, a "people's functional socialism" might create a "popular unity" which "might solve the economic crisis" and in this way "make possible a democratic transition to the new order." But this, Corey says, can only be done if it develops an aggressive program of action providing for: (1) the nationalization of investment and credit; (2) the nationalization of large scale industry; and (3) planning. Such a program would also have the merit of allowing "room for the encouragement and free play of small independent enterprise and investment." By thus uniting all useful and functional groups against monopoly capital, it would "create a popular movement that may beat down reactionary opposition." This would assure a democratic, gradual, and presumably peaceful transition to socialism. However, this democratic transition to socialism also requires a "limitation of government controls." All this, Corey assures us, will avoid Social Democratic futility and Communist catastrophism (revolution).

One need only glance at this "road map to socialism" to realize that it has no roads at all, but a maze of confusion terminating in a capitalist blind alley. This is evident from the very first premise of Corey's thesis, the notion that there is no sharp *economic* break between capitalism and socialism. If this is true, then why can't we have socialism without a socialist revolution? The trouble with this pretty picture is that there is the sharpest kind of *economic* break between capitalism and socialism. Corey obscures this fact by using the term "economic" simply in the sense of material technique, the *physical* process of production and distribution. In that case, however, there is no break at all between capitalism and socialism; there is actually a continuity, for the material basis of socialism is the machinery and industry, the large scale production developed by capitalism. The "break," therefore, lies in the social, and not in the physical, realm. The difference between capitalist economy and the socialist economic system is not in its technology but in the social conditions under which this technology is operated. It is these social conditions of production expressed as a system of property relations within which the physical process of production and distribution takes place, that constitutes the essence of an economy. If you don't break fundamentally and completely with capitalist private property, that is, with the capitalist economic system, there can be no socialist economy. But it is precisely this kind of economic break, based on a continuity of the material productive forces, that is the issue at stake. Because such a break represents a revolution in the social system, it assumes the form of acute revolutionary struggles for *political* power. By focusing attention only on the physical machinery and presenting this as the economy, Corey simply eliminates the class struggle and its political character, leaving only an abstraction from reality.

"GRADUAL TRANSITION"

But let us look more closely at this conception of a gradual transition to socialism. We must remember that in his second article, Corey insisted that Social Democracy failed, because, among other things, of its erroneous belief that gradual reforms under capitalism would lead to socialism, with the result that it even failed to pass over to the *struggle* for socialism. Now Corey proclaims that even though Social Democracy was wrong, it was also right. "Social Democratic gradualism failed? Yes and no," he declares. It failed because it "never had any teeth" in it and "never drove towards socialism." But then, why did it not fail? Apparently because a gradual transition with teeth in it had never really been tried. However, Corey's "working model" of such a transition is either at complete variance with gradualism or utterly devoid of socialism. The nationalization of monopolized industry and finance is actually an abrupt revolutionary transition, unless you avoid expropriating big capital and resort to compensation, which would only mean leaving the ownership in the hands of monopoly capital, that is, state capitalism. Thus, the moment you put the "teeth" of nationalization into the "gradual" transition, it ceases to be gradual; and the moment you take the bite out of these "teeth" by avoiding expropriation, it ceases to be the road to socialism.

But Corey's vague reference to declining capitalism as the basis for a gradual transition is also conceived so abstractly as to be at complete variance with reality. "Declining capitalism" is imperialism, the epoch in which all the contradictions and conflicts of capitalism are intensified to the extreme. It is impossible to talk of a transition to socialism in this period without taking into account this tumultuous character of imperialism. The financial oligarchy resorts to every form of violence to maintain its domination. Imperialist war is the normal mode of the imperialist world system. Trickery, cunning, and deceit are joined with more material measures to divide the working class and prevent the unity of the toiling population without which any transition to socialism is impossible. Opportunism is cultivated in the labor movement and the struggle against the land of socialism is accompanied by an increasingly repressive struggle against the party of socialism in every capitalist country. And finally, there are the numerous struggles involving all other oppressed and expropriated classes, struggles which are not in themselves of a socialist character but must be made part of the struggle for socialism before one can talk seriously of a transition to the new order. The transition to socialism, therefore, is not an easy and simple process unfolding in a leisurely and peaceful setting. It is a revolutionary change with tremendous obstacles to overcome.

Corey not only ignores all this, but proposes to launch upon this transition with a party robbed of the very qualities which alone can make such an achievement possible. In place of a revolutionary proletarian party, he proposes a coalition of workers, farmers, and city middle class groups in the form of "a people's functional socialism." Such a party, hampered by the indecision of conflicting class viewpoints and dominated by a vacillating petty bourgeois ideology is not a party of socialism. It cannot contend with the exigencies of a revolutionary crisis which require the singleness of purpose and the promptness of action characteristic of an efficient and experienced general staff. Indeed, only the most revolutionary, consistent, and stubborn fighters for socialism, organized into a monolithic party capable of avoiding the rocks of opportunism and free from vacillation, can assure the fusion of all the separate struggles of the masses into a successful struggle for socialism.

COREY'S DILEMMA

It is no accident, therefore, that Corey himself is not even certain that his program will achieve what it alone is supposed to assure, declaring that it *might* create a people's unity and it *might* solve the economic crisis. Corroded by doubt, without confidence even in his own words, Corey still has the presumption to recommend this petty bourgeois impotence as a substitute for the proletarian leadership of

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the struggle and as the only way to solve the most difficult of all tasks ever posed by history, the transition to socialism!

But the fraudulent character of Corey's attack on the Communists and his talk about a gradual, democratic transition to socialism is shown by his readiness to "beat down reactionary opposition" to socialism, that is, to crush the resistance of the monopolists. This is precisely the essence of the proletarian dictatorship and the meaning of the proletarian leadership of the democratic majority. It is the *means* which Corey so categorically insisted destroys socialist and democratic ends. If you agree to the forcible suppression of the forces of counter-revolution, what happens to the gradual and peaceful transition? If you agree to deny democracy to the handful of exploiters and undertake to crush all their efforts to restore the old order, what becomes of the contention that the temporary suppression of democracy leads to totalitarianism? In whose interests will the new state power use such repressive measures if not in the interests of the majority, and what class, if not the proletariat and its revolutionary party, will be most consistent and stubborn in carrying out this indispensable task?

The whole hubbub about a "democratic" transition to socialism merely conceals the fact that neither the transition measures nor the shape of the new order projected by Corey have anything to do with socialism. The non-socialist character of the former merely corresponds to the absence of socialism in the latter. Indeed, only a person who does not really want to pose the question of socialism can talk of a gradual transition.

As a matter of fact, the complete artificiality of Corey's talk about a "democratic" transition to socialism is revealed by his contention that the very establishment of socialism, regardless of the method of transition, gives rise to totalitarianism. Therefore, Corey proposes to *restrict* collectivism or socialism by permanently preserving private property in the realm of small scale enterprise and agriculture. This is the essence of Corey's "new socialist order." "Diversity of economic forms and interests and their freedom of action," he declares, "are safeguards against tyranny."

In other words, "the final assurance" of democracy is not in socialist economy, but in the existence of private ownership side by side with it; not in the proletariat, but in the presence of a class of private owners of land and small scale industry co-existing with it; not in the abolition of classes but in the continuation of the class struggle. This explains why Corey is so disturbed by the emphasis on the proletariat as the driving force of the transition to socialism. It is an indication of how little he really aspires to socialism that he considers the driving force of the transition to socialism to be the classes of small property owners whose conflict with monopoly capital is not of a socialist character and who can only be drawn into the struggle *for socialism* by accepting the leadership of the socialist proletariat.

Now, if Corey would stop pretending that he wants socialism and say outright that what he wants is the continuation of private property without the evils that grow out of its development, one might respect his desire, even though it is the sheerest petty bourgeois utopianism. But Corey attempts to cover up the fact that he cannot visualize democracy under socialism, that the only democracy he can conceive is that which has its source in private ownership by small entrepreneurs and farmers. He proceeds to obscure the real issue by resorting to his old device of confusing technical problems with economic property relations.

"Decentralization of economic institutions, authority, and controls," he says, "encourages initiative, freedom of decision, and democratic responsibility." Now, what is Corey talking about—physical decentralization of the nationalized socialist sectors, or the existence of small scale private enterprise? Acceptance of the former is no argument for introducing the latter. But apparently Corey wants both a petty bourgeois class of individual owners and a decentralization of socialist production, since he is evidently not willing to believe that socialist economy *in any form* would encourage enough "democratic responsibility" to overcome the alleged totalitarian potential of socialist economy. It is not true, of course, that centralized control and planning exclude individual and local initiative and responsibility. For decentralization actually prevails in the Soviet Union within the framework of national ownership. With the exception of the largest industries, the control and management of all local industry is in the hands of the local soviets.

Furthermore, what is the logic of the struggle between the diverse economic forms and interests which Corey proposes to preserve as the guarantee of democracy? These diverse forms cannot exist side by side without one ultimately eliminating the other. Large scale production, as Corey very well knows, is technically superior to small scale private enterprise. Under capitalism large scale enterprise, monopoly capital, dominates and tends to destroy small scale production and ownership. Under socialism the greater productivity of collective economy is bound to eliminate the less productive individual enterprises. Or does Corey, the "Marxist economist," ask us to believe that small scale private enterprise can be artificially maintained despite the overriding effect of the increasing productivity of labor?

"LIMITED" NATIONAL PLANNING

This apparently is Corey's hope. For he proposes to limit planning to "regulation of strategic economic factors: investment and large scale industry, the relation between capital goods, consumers' goods, and prices." However, if this regulation is to be in the nature of planning, how can it ignore the activity of the privately owned enterprises and the effect of their production on social production as a whole? How can these private enterprises escape the effect of the price policies made

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possible by the planned, socialist sector? Certainly, Corey will not insist that there is a Chinese wall between these antagonistic economies. Either he undermines the very possibility of planning, or he undermines the existence of private enterprise. In any case, by insisting on the preservation of small scale private property Corey is not ensuring the basis of democracy, but the source from which capitalist elements must constantly arise. For private enterprise means commodity production and commodity production means the inevitable development of capitalism.

And after all is said and done, we discover that "these institutional arrangements" only "limit the danger of bureaucratic totalitarianism but do not destroy it." At first the argument was that a "democratic" transition to socialism would safeguard democracy under socialism. Then we learned that socialist economy itself needed to be restricted in order to ensure democracy under socialism. Now we find out that even this is no absolute guarantee since the socialist economy is bound up with the socialist state which constitutes a potentially totalitarian bureaucracy. By the time we are through, it becomes plain that the only way to ensure "democracy" under socialism is by abolishing both the socialist economy and the socialist state!

As a matter of fact, what Corey offers us in his "new order" is not a picture of socialism, but of its complete absence. For in the last analysis he is afraid of socialism and the class whose fate is bound up with it. Its realization and spirit are essentially alien to him. His "new order" therefore not only preserves capitalist remnants but is conceived entirely in the image of capitalist democracy. Thus, he declares that "between the workers and the industries they 'own' is interposed the bureaucratic state which under a system of absolute collective ownership wields effective power over economic institutions." Instead of socialism, therefore, we really have absolute wage slavery. "It is now clear," he says, "that the workers remain workers. The wage relation still remains and in a worse form where there is no democracy and the state is the only employer." To ensure democracy, Corey concludes, it is necessary to allow "freedom of association, the independence of employee organizations and other functional groups in relation to the political and economic bureaucracy." The workers must be given "the right to strike against the government employer," and the unions must be permitted to keep their independence.

In a word, since the new socialist society is run by a new ruling class, democracy is necessary so the working class can be free to continue its class struggle. But then, what will be the outcome of this struggle? Socialism? A workers' state? Impossible, for this very struggle is supposed to be taking place under socialism! Furthermore, if the new socialist state is, by its very nature, not a workers' state, but a new slave master, then the workers cannot establish socialism without creating a bureaucratic state power stand-

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ing above and ruling over them. The only thing they can do to get socialism without a totalitarian bureaucracy is to avoid establishing a state or abolishing the one already established and taking political power in their own hands. But without state power socialism cannot be established; and with state power, the people performing the functions of state automatically become a state bureaucracy apart from and against the workers!

DEAD END

But what if the political state were eliminated? Couldn't the workers through their unions assume direct control of industry? However, Corey rejects this syndicalism also because "union ownership of industry . . . would strengthen bureaucracy through the combination of control over unions and industry." *In other words, any form of rule by the producers is impossible; socialism is really a pipe dream, and democracy is only a means of protecting them against the new rulers. In the name of ensuring "democracy" under socialism, therefore, Corey has closed the road to socialism altogether.* In reality, what his position means is that any form of workers' organization, in fact any form of organized leadership, entails bureaucracy and the moment it reaches out for state power and the ownership of industry it becomes totalitarianism. It does not require any exceptional insight to understand that this is the road to the preservation of capitalism and not to the democracy of socialism.

Corey's remarks on the state only confirm this inescapable conclusion. Marx and Lenin, he declares, were wrong in contending that the old state must be destroyed and a new one built. And yet Corey pretends to quote Lenin in condemnation of the Soviet state on the ground that it was only a "bourgeois and czarist mechanism borrowed from czarism"! At the same time he complains that Marx's theory was "shaped too much by the nature of the capitalist state, which is dominated by an economic ruling class that derives its economic power from property ownership." If the Bolsheviks were wrong in taking over the old bourgeois czarist state machinery instead of building a new state (a fact which exists only in Corey's imagination); if the capitalist state is dominated by the capitalist class—then why are Marx and Lenin wrong in calling for the replacement of the old state machinery of capitalist domination by an entirely new state organization that corresponds to the new classes coming into power?

On the other hand, if the capitalist state is the instrument of the dominant economic class in capitalist society, then a socialist state must be the instrument of those who own the productive machinery in socialist society. Since Corey asks us to believe that the workers are still absolute wage slaves in the Soviet Union and that the industries are really owned by a state bureaucracy, one would imagine that he would make full use of the truth that politics follows economics in order to "prove" his contention. But it is a measure of Corey's whole "theory" that he dare not follow such a consistent line. Instead, Corey proceeds to twist history into his mold and simply declares that unlike capitalism, those holding state power under feudalism and socialism are not an economic ruling class, even though economic power is in their hands.

If economic power is actually in their hands, then they are not only a political ruling class but also an economic ruling class. And merely to proclaim that their political power is the source of their economic power does not alter the fact that this political *power* consists in their control of the economic power. For, even according to Corey, the political power is empty without economic power. And yet Corey admits that the people performing the state functions in the Soviet Union do not own the productive property of the country. Now, either admit that they are performing their functions in behalf of the real property owners, the people, of whom they are a part, or say outright that the people do not own the property. But do not try to confuse the issue by *saying* that the state functionaries have political power and *therefore* they also have economic power, and then "prove" this by repeating the same thing in the form of a theory that political power gives rise to economic power. Do not say that the people own the productive property and at the same time do not own it, and then "prove" that they do not own it because the people performing the state functions administer it.

PETTY BOURGEOIS VIEWPOINT

All of Corey's notions on the transition to socialism, the shape of the new order, and the state add up to the viewpoint of the small owner who wants to abolish the control of monopoly capital without abolishing private property. But it is a viewpoint in the service of imperialist reaction. This is the inescapable conclusion from Corey's whole "revaluation of Marxism." Compare Corey's "democratic socialism," his final wisdom that bureaucracy is the chief menace, with the "new liberalism" of the utilities magnate and "liberal" spokesman of monopoly capital, Wendell L. Willkie, who declares:

> Money power has been taken from Wall Street and put on Pennsylvania Avenue. Bureaus control our economic life. The buccaneers of Washington with their broad powers answerable to the executive of the government have taken control. . . . Today it is not Big Business that we have to fear. It is Big Government.

Compare Corey's diatribe against the Soviet Union, his suspicious elevation of "freedom" above vulgar economic attainments with the bluster of that other "democratic" champion of monopoly capital, Dorothy Thompson, who recently announced that what is wrong with Russian Communism "is that it is politically a means for the delegation of irrevocable tyrannical and naked power," a "totalitarianism" that was "accelerated by the economic interpretation of history that thinks that bread and butter are infinitely more im-

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portant than freedom of any kind." The only difference between these capitalist spokesmen and Corey is that they don't pretend to be socialists and Corey does.

Stripped of pretense, the practical meaning of Corey's "reconsideration" of Marxism is revealed by the events of the past six months. On the one hand, monopoly capital has rallied its forces around the Roosevelt administration to undermine living standards and civil liberties and involve America in the war. To this end, it has unleashed a far-flung campaign against the anti-imperialist, peace, and labor forces of the country, beginning with the Communist Party. On the other hand, it has developed an intense anti-Soviet activity, working in Europe and the Far East to assure American imperialism a position of world preeminence, to save capitalism, and to unite its decaying forces to crush the new socialist society. It is from this activity of monopoly capital that Corey's "reconsideration" derives its significance and draws its essential inspiration; its main function is to supply the imperialist offensive with a "socialist" ground.

It is therefore no accident that his articles are one long series of contradictions and inconsistencies. They are the inevitable product of his whole untenable position. While this position imagines itself free and independent, its very nature condemns it to subservience to the interests of monopoly capital. That is the logic of a position which life steers in other directions than those it believes itself to be pursuing; it simply has to bow to other divinities than its own. It speaks of democracy and socialism, but it leads straight into the camp of imperialism.

It is indicative of everything Corey has to say that the best he can propose is to continue the pattern of pre-monopolist capitalism under conditions that make it already a thing of the past. This petty bourgeois nostalgia, combined with a semi-anarchist position on the state, a shamefaced reversion to discredited Social Democratic gradualism and a reiteration of monopoly capital's slanders against the Soviet Union is the sum and substance of Corey's "democratic socialism." It does not even have the merit of originality. The fact that Corey chooses to call this hodgepodge of borrowed perversions a "reconsideration of Marxism" only demonstrates that he has never understood what Marxism is. To the revolutionary movement which is hardly ignorant of Corey's record, his articles are no more than an effort to provide a "theoretical" justification for two decades of political bankruptcy.

SOCIALISM IN THE REAL WORLD

But how wretched are the fulminations of a Corey against the inspiring reality of the great land of socialism! He would like us to forget that in real life there are two worlds today, the world of dying capitalism and the world of creative socialism anchored in the USSR. But all the magic words in the universe cannot obliterate this irrevocable reality. The transition to socialism in any other part

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of the world is bound up with its existence in the Soviet Union. For, the realization of socialism in the Soviet Union is the fountain of strength for the whole international socialist movement. Destroy the Soviet Union and all the forces of progress and labor, not to speak of the socialist movement, will be crushed in every other land. That is why the test of a socialist today is not just his position on the theory of socialism but his attitude toward its realization in the Soviet Union. It is precisely because the Soviet Union represents the new socialist society, operated and ruled by the toilers without capitalist exploitation, that decaying world imperialism is making such frantic efforts to crush it.

The abstract character and pitiable impotence of Corey's articles flow from the imperialist source of his inspiration. Every individual is fed by the springs of the class for which he speaks. In Corey's articles it is not socialism that is speaking; the helpless confusion and self-refuting contradictions are not the voice of the workers, the exploited and oppressed masses, the real forces of socialism. It is not the language of socialist democracy; for socialism *is* democracy, real, unrestricted, creative democracy; the democracy of the working people freed from the fetters of classes and the stranglehold of parasitic monopoly founded in private property. Corey's is the language of confusion on every fundamental question involved in the struggle for socialism, on the question of imperialism, fascism, democracy, socialism, and the state. Corey the "strategist of socialism" is only less pitiable than Corey the "theoretician" and "historian." In his hands both democracy and socialism are assured of a decent burial. To borrow a sentence from Heine: Nature gave him a small talent and the *Nation* a lot of space, and he has effectively abused both.

A. LANDY.

How Not to Write a Book

HOW TO READ A BOOK, *by Mortimer J. Adler. Simon & Schuster. $2.50.*

IN A school of journalism I once attended there was a course in editorial writing which opened with the serious information that "An editorial has three parts: introduction, body, conclusion." Further, the writer must have: "(1) a subject; (2) a viewpoint; (3) facts necessary to his argument." These rules (which it must be admitted, never hurt anybody) kept nudging at my memory as I read Mortimer J. Adler's book. Dr. Adler's rules—how to watch for important words, recognize the author's proposition, be able to criticize, etc.—won't hurt anyone either. They may even help the bewildered or lazy-minded, or the poor college student who *has* to read whether the books interest him or not. But it is hard to imagine an ordinary reader needing to be told, for example, that he should be able to answer four questions about a book: (1) What in general is being said? (2) How in particular is it being said? (3) Is it true? (4) What of it?

The platitudes are sugared with a spoonful of idealism. Through reading the great books, Dr. Adler believes ". . . free minds are made and, through them, free men." In fact, it's simpler and more wonderful than that: The "good society" can be brought about through proper reading habits. And let Dr. Adler explain the well read man's conception of a good society:

> It is simply the enlargement of the community in which we live with our friends. We live together with our friends in peaceful and intelligent association. . . . The good society, in the large, must be an association of men made friends by intelligent communication.

This is a lofty addition to the current "solve all social problems" techniques. We can do no better than apply to it the last two of Dr. Adler's rules for judging a book, to wit: Is it true? What of it?

BARBARA GILES.

It Can Happen Here

BETHEL MERRIDAY, *by Sinclair Lewis. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50.*

ONE dislikes to hit a man when he's married to Dorothy Thompson, but that is the chastening duty of this writer. Sinclair Lewis has indited a love note to the theater in his latest novel, *Bethel Merriday,* even if the theater hasn't been properly grateful to him. The title role is played by an obdurate young lady of the theater, who has all of Mr. Lewis' characteristics except his loquacity. Unlike her Boswell, Miss Merriday came to the stage quite early and endured to be mentioned in Leonard Lyons' column. She still has several plugs to go. I was under the impression that Sinclair Lewis had written at least twice as many books as he has; but a check with his bibliography on the flyleaf indicates that half of them must have been something I read in the papers.

Why is it that this brave writing man of the twenties is now lecturing to women's clubs, taking up the theater, and fulfilling publishers' contracts with books like this one?

Sinclair Lewis has been at the typewriter long enough to know what to do to keep the audience, and I confess that he made me laugh and read the damn thing, despite constant twinges at his vaudeville tricks. There isn't three inches of typewriter ribbon's worth of sincerity in the book; it's like a serial in *Collier's* only you don't have to save up copies to read it all at once.

Reviews of books like this should consist of confronting the author with the good stuff his compeers have been doing. Bernard Shaw, who had a fully developed brain when Lewis was making mud pies, retained his literary manhood long past Lewis' dotage.

Does Sinclair Lewis realize that he has some responsibility to the people and to American literature? Otherwise he can go on with his tanktown Alexander Woollcott act.

JAMES DUGAN.

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S I G H T S A N D S O U N D S

Drama Bites Critic

"Ladies in Retirement" upsets the murder play tradition and surprises Alvah Bessie. A "vital, human spectacle." . . . Ethel Waters dignifies the revival of "Mamba's Daughters."

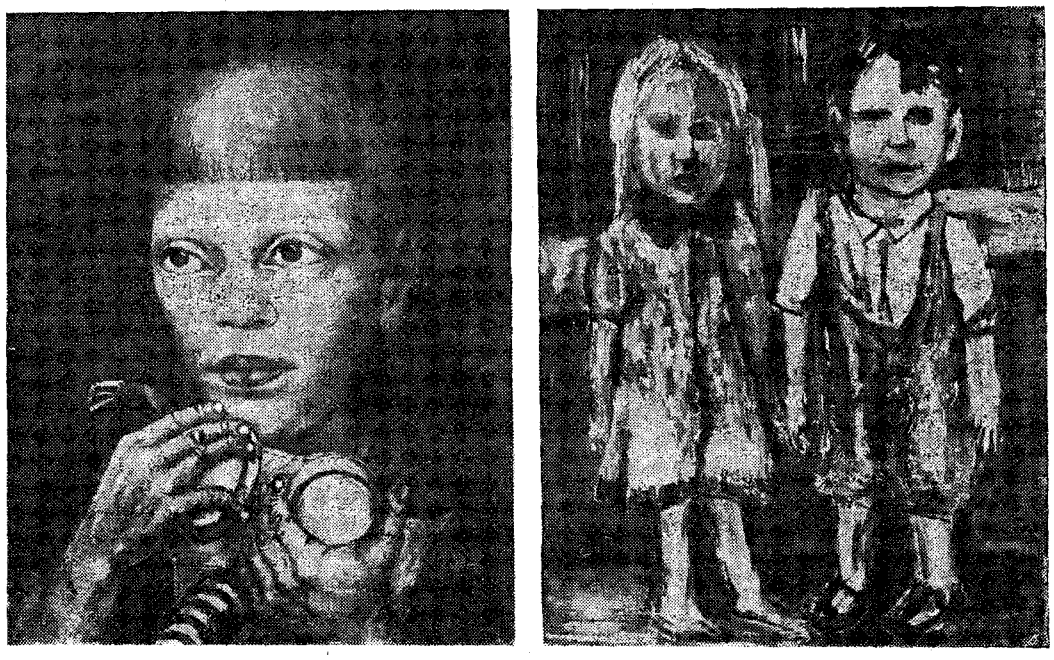
BELIEVE it or not, what we had expected to be a routine murder play by a pair of unknown English dramatists turns out to be the most interesting, vital, and human spectacle on the current boards. This is Edward Percy's and Reginald Denham's *Ladies in Retirement.*

While the dramatic emphasis is on the atmosphere of horror, this is no routine spine-chiller. Although human values are present all the time, the characterizations in every instance are brilliantly observed and honestly presented, the suspense mounts continuously, and thus the horror evoked is real and moving.

Living far from town is a one-time belle of the British musical comedy stage, red-wigged and comfortable on the remittances of her former admirers. She has taken into her home one Ellen Creed, former proprietor of a curio shop and an old friend and sole support of two wacky sisters. The shop has failed and the ancient belle has made Ellen her companion-housekeeper. Ellen, unable to support her aging batty sisters, persuades old Leonora Fiske to give them common shelter, but the old lady cannot abide the pair. Goaded to desperation by Leonora's insistence that she send them packing, and having no place to send them, no money to support them, Ellen murders her benefactress. Henceforth she has the home and the old crone's income to herself and can guarantee the declining years of her "children."

What ensues thereafter is a study in the corrosive effects of a guilty conscience that is worthy of any dramatist you could name. Involved is Ellen Creed's sadistic and good-for-nothing nephew Albert Feather, who, being a rat himself, can smell a rat. With diabolical ingenuity he brings about the confession of his aunt in the fond hope of personal aggrandizement, only to find himself outwitted by her superior acumen. For the police are looking for Albert, too, for embezzlement of funds. But before he flees the scene, he and the dramatists have evoked an atmosphere of horror that is deeply rooted in human character, and not the synthetic product of extraneous theatrical devices.

If the movies don't grab this one and make Robert Montgomery play Albert Feather, they are crazy. (Although Patrick O'Moore is excellent in the part.) The rest of the cast might well remain intact, for it is as uniformly excellent a group as you will ever see playing together in one show. Flora Robson, making her American stage debut, is a convincing murderess whose soul-torment will shake you in your chair. The batty sisters, brilliantly played by Estelle Winwood and Jessamine Newcombe, leave nothing to



THREE PAINTINGS. *Top, left: "Innocence Abroad" by Philip Evergood is part of his exhibition at the ACA Gallery at 52 West 8th St., New York City. The exhibition which includes twenty-four paintings, will close on April 13. Top, right: "Children" by Tschacbasov (whose one-man show follows Evergood's at the ACA) has been presented by the artist to the New Masses Bill of Rights Fund Auction, which will be held at the same gallery Sunday, April 7. Below: "Death of a Social Order" by Mischa Richter is included in the Artists Congress Exhibition which will open at 785 Fifth Ave. on April 5.*

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be desired as performers assigned to particularly difficult roles. The belle-dame with the red wig provides Isobel Elsom with a juicy opportunity. Credit should also go to Raymond Sovey's forbidding living room, and to the direction of Reginald Denham, co-author. *Ladies in Retirement* is terrific.

"LILIOM" REVIVED

Ferenc Molnar is a Hungarian Peter Pan who has made enormous reputation and much money from his refusal to grow up. *Liliom,* his most accomplished play, was written some thirty-odd years ago, and was first presented to American audiences by the Theater Guild exactly twenty years ago, when you and I were young. The fact that it still survives is ample evidence of certain qualities in the script and in the author that merit survival—the true make-believe quality that has always been the hallmark of the theater.

Liliom is a species of proletarian fairy-tale that is more romantic fable than it is proletarian in its approach or understanding. The tough-guy hero is a Budapest carnival barker, the cock-of-the-walk so far as the local servant girls are concerned. He is a "bad" man, a bully, a braggart, a potential cut-throat. But the story of his tender love for Julie and Julie's faithfulness to him, despite his blows and his failure to understand her, is poetic and moving to a considerable degree. Out to commit murder for profit with his friend Ficzur, "The Sparrow," he kills himself rather than be caught in the act. The celestial magistrate gives him a chance (after sixteen years in hell) to repair in some slight degree his earthly defections, but although he brings a star from the heavens to delight his growing daughter, he fails.

Liliom is a genuine, if frustrated poet, who even in the act of attempted murder is more concerned with the thrumming of the railroad tracks, the humming of the telephone wires. "Bad" because he is unhappy and frustrated in all his normal impulses, he possesses a recognizable humanity.

In the title role Burgess Meredith achieves half a characterization; he is adequately tough, inadequately tender. Miss Ingrid Bergman of Stockholm and Hollywood, as Julie, is a new and persuasive talent. She has beauty, charm, and an accomplished attack. As "The Sparrow," Elia Kazan, recent star of *Night Music,* seems misdirected, provides a curiously superficial treatment of the shifty character of Ficzur. Ann Mason, as Mrs. Muskat, the proprietor of Liliom's carnival merry-go-round, plays with authenticity and conviction, and Nat Karson's sets are colorful and atmospheric. The direction of Benno Schneider is considerably at fault in its slow pacing, and in its insistence, in the first act, on hamming each and every character for laughs. ALVAH BESSIE.

MAMBA'S DAUGHTERS

To the return engagement of *Mamba's Daughters* Ethel Waters brings an integrated and moving performance that humiliates its

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The "CRADLE WILL ROCK"—last time this season, presented by Flatbush Arts Theatre, April 6—8:40 at New School, 66 West 12th Street. Tickets: $1.10, 83c, 55c. New Theatre League, CH 4-8198, 110 West 47th Street.

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context. The pleasantly literary affection out of which the Heywards write about Negro life may amuse, bore, irritate, anger, or depress the audience, but it does none of these things to Miss Waters. With superb poise she dignifies the story of Hagar, an illiterate, officially criminal woman for whom life has validity only through the welfare of her illegitimate daughter.

In justice to the Heywards it must be said that the part of Hagar is the most simply and the least superficially written in the play. But without Miss Waters and against the limp construction of the drama and the casual use (or understanding) of the background material, very little would justify two hours of anyone's attention. That little consists of the occasionally impressive playing of Georgia Burke as Mamba, and one really well conceived and directed scene (4, Act I), in which the "story" that the Heywards prod so diligently does for a few moments disappear in favor of its characters and a poignancy not inherent in the rest of the play.

H. C. N.

American Folk Songs

Elie Siegmeister and the American Ballad Singers at Town Hall.

A PERFORMANCE of more than usual interest took place recently in Town Hall. The event was the New York debut of the American Ballad Singers, directed by Elie Siegmeister and sponsored by the Flatbush Arts Theater. A richly varied program of American ballads and folk songs, this concert decisively refuted the skeptics who would underrate America's contribution to musical folk lore, here revealed in wealth and variety.

How to get this simple, homespun material across in a metropolitan concert hall is a problem quite different from an intimate presentation, a problem we feel to have been successfully solved by the talented organizer and leader of the group. It involved skill in tasteful harmonizing, a sense of theater, a knack of discovering and heightening beauties latent in a melody, and withal the good taste not to overdo. We admit that fidelity sometimes suffered, but contend that complete fidelity here would have been environmentally incongruous. So we welcome the not-so-naive but well trained voices and good diction of the beautifully balanced group of singers (Ruth Fremont, Helen Yorke, Evelyn MacGregor, Earl Rogers, Emile Renan, and Earl Waldo), who, seated informally about a table, responded to their leader's every wish. Their flair for the humorous, the pathetic, the dramatic aroused time and again the enthusiasm of the capacity audience.

It is high time we were getting to know more of our own music here in America, and we are thankful that Mr. Siegmeister is rendering such signal service in this direction. It is a far from easy task, but one for which he is eminently fitted.

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Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared S. A. Becker, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the New Masses, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publishers, Weekly Masses Co., Inc., 461 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. Editor, Jacob Soifer, 215 W. 10th St., N. Y. C. Business Manager, S. A. Becker, 40 Monroe St. E., N. Y. C.

2. That the owner is: Weekly Masses Co., Inc., 461 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. S. A. Becker, 40 Monroe St. E., N. Y. C. who holds stock in trust for the editorial board, which consists of A. B. Magil, Jacob Soifer, S. A. Becker, Ruth McKenney, Samuel Sillen, James Dugan and Barbara Giles.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

S. A. Becker,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of March, 1940.

Fay Siegartel, Notary Public.

My commission expires March 30, 1941.

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FROM INSIDE NAZI GERMANY

Ad Reinhardt

NEW MASSES brings you next week an article smuggled across the Swiss frontier: the first, authentic, coherent revelation of how the German housewife, the German worker, the German shopkeeper feels about the war. And our correspondent, risking life and liberty, promises us at least one more on how the middle and upper classes feel about the predicament in which their Fuehrer has got them.

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